Christ Church

The things that truly last

Louis C. Washburn

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Christ Church

Philadelphia

A Symposium

Compiled in Connection with the
Two Hundred and Twenty-fifth
Anniversary

By
LOUIS C. WASHBURN

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They are there, there, there
with Earth immortal
(Citizens, I give you friendly warning),
The things that truly last
when men and times have passed,
They are all in Pennsylvania
this morning.

From Brother Square-Toes
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With love and thanks for the
grace and valor declared in

Henrietta Saltonstall Washburn

and the others who here
fanned again into a flame
the undying fire
of
sacrificial service.

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Introductory

Rt. Rev. Henry Compton, D.D.
Bishop of London

Introductory

WHY have we no available history of Christ Church? Eighty years ago, Doctor Dorr put out an invaluable compilation of extracts from the Minutes of the Vestry entitled A Historical Account; and in 1864, Mr. Edward L. Clark issued a record of the Inscriptions on the tablets and gravestones in the Burial Grounds. These books are out of print. In this country's most American city, there is a growing consciousness of the need for recalling the significance of this cherished center of personal and national character. Some day a leisurely historian may write a comprehensive treatise in several volumes about us. He should find the material gathered within these covers measurably useful.

Apart from any such value that it may have, there are other sufficient reasons for submitting it at the present time. The outstanding occasions that called forth the valued papers of the distinguished contributors are fresh in our memories; and there is a demand for them in permanent form. And the celebration of the Sesqui-Centennial of the Declaration of Independence naturally focuses attention, not alone upon the chamber in the historic Hall, but quite as directly upon the Shrine whence, as from a spiritual fountain, were drawn the inspirations that animated so large a proportion of the men who signed the immortal document.

Tuning in with the popular notion that our world began with the Revolution, the sight-seers who daily stream in and about this perfect specimen of Georgian architecture reverently re-people the pews with the patriot leaders and instinctively uncover as they stand where seven of the Signers lie buried. Unequalled as the Sanctuary of this epochal period, its value as a national monument cannot be overestimated, and its appeal is irresistible.

But its beginnings carry us back ninety-five years before the Father of his Country came for his seven years of regular attendance upon its services. That earlier century is filled with

romantic interest, with which these pages deal. Many of the facts are not unknown to students; but some new light is herein thrown upon the origins. As the product and producer of personalities, it has been putting to us some questions hitherto but vaguely considered. Who were the twenty Founders? What were their characteristics and motives? What sort of a man was the Bishop of London to whom, in the turbulent days of the seventeenth century, this far away colony owed so much? How did his Commissary strengthen and enrich the nascent enterprise? To the knowing of one's Philadelphia intimately, the fascinating story of such particulars helps.

The backward look, however, is but to provide solid footing for present duty, and incentive for further accomplishment. It were worse than idle to garnish even the tombs of the prophets, if their vision and valor were buried with them. There is challenge and charm in clearing away the debris from an ancient well, if thereby the water of life may be made to gush forth.

Of the many memorials and tablets in and about the venerable structure, none is more suggestive than that which tells of the seventy or more valiant youths who, maintaining our high traditions, went forth from this parish to vindicate righteousness and set forth the ultimate peace of the world in the great crisis of 1917-1918. After all the years, the breed has not run out, though the old families have moved and warehouses and foreign tenants have supplanted them. In 1708 good Queen Anne sent the Communion silver, *In Usum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ apud Philadelphiam.* Today it is more aptly known as the Church of God's Anointed, the understanding, welcoming home of any member of our present melting pot. The roster of the Church reads like the unpronounceable muster roll of a typical infantry company; and each one hears in his own tongue the tidings from on high.

The Armistice was signed. A group from a transport walked into the Neighborhood House, unslung their packs, asking that they might leave them for the day as they went sight-seeing before a night train left for their mid-western home. "Of course! But how came you in here?" "Oh, as we left Brest,

some lads told us that if we wanted friends when we struck Philadelphia we should turn in at Christ Church."

An Italian mother, distracted over her household of seventeen, passing with leaden feet, heard the historic bells. To her they seemed to sing an invitation, the only one for her need in the lonely crowd. Entering, with never a thought of the country's great, she knelt in their pews, finding the Desire of All Nations; and she and all hers through the years since praise God for Christ Church.

Factories and workshops multiply in the crowded streets and alleys nearby. Consequent fires menace increasingly. Yet one and another, Jew and Gentile, are feeling the tug of something magnetic. A prosperous Hebrew neighbor requests the names and addresses of some of our poorest and largest families and sends them bountiful Christmas baskets. Another son of Israel asks the privilege of carpeting the Pulpit stairs and donates the Vesting Room rug. A factory employing a hundred girls of the noisier sort is built in the immediate vicinity. The owner, concerned not merely with the toil but as well with the uplift of the unruly company, seeks and secures contact for them with the Neighborhood House and its conveniences and refinements.

For the Forty Days of Lent year after year eager hundreds, of every and no ecclesiastical allegiance, react to the messages of our present-day prophets; and more and more the monumental pile becomes a spiritual retreat for men and women, encouraged by devout souls who alone or in company observe their regular noonday devotions.

A spot of singular fascination—surpassingly rich in historical association, yet pulsing with dynamic vitality still—an inexhaustible deposit of early lore, and at the same time a beckoning gateway to the life that is eternal.

The spirit that impelled the fathers to pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor for the high cause of their day, like the tone in a mellowed violin, pervades the very fabric and, as an atmosphere, infects the worshippers of today.

What means it that, in this river-front parish, since the World War the record of the five years reveals the giving of $100,000 for missions and other extra parochial causes; $54,834.79 for repairs on the Church; $6,152.07 for betterments of the Graveyard, and some $38,000 for completing the Neighborhood House, the while the current cost of aggressive work has been provided, and more than $100,000 added to the Endowment Fund?

Have the exaltations of the World War rekindled the capacity for disinterested devotion to a holy cause? Is there something other than bricks and plaster in the old building; a contagion which, if it could but be imparted widely, would prove the solvent for many of our public and private ills?

Pastor and people recite their Litany with the humbling consciousness of unprofitable servants, yet in the confidence of a certain faith. The revealed footprints to ultimate manhood are still freshly trod. It is authenticated again and again that, "He that loseth his life for My sake, shall find it." It would be stupid to print and vain to read what follows merely out of antiquarian curiosity. The monument is persistently vocal. It challenges the precepts of the world, cutting clean across the dogmas of Washington, Wall Street, and Hollywood. Every experience outlined should disclose the secret of life for nation and church as well as for the individual. For here is the shelter and generator of "the things that truly last."

If the perils of prosperity threaten to paganize us and cause our civilization to totter, this national shrine, with its eight bells swinging in its heaven-pointing tower, may bring a timely reminder of the validated source of enduring satisfactions, the one sufficient power for the reconstruction of society.

As the Sight-seer Wants It

As the Sight-seer Wants It

"There is no building in our city, and it may be doubted whether there is any in our country, around which so many hallowed associations cluster, and which calls up so many time-honored and holy reminiscences, as the venerable structure known as Christ Church."

DOCTOR DORR

"Christ Church shares with old Faneuil Hall (the gift of a Churchman to Boston patriots) the proud distinction of being a cradle of the Country itself, as it is a cradle of the American Church. This sacred pile is a memorial to God, to the Church, and to the Nation."

BISHOP PERRY

CHRIST CHURCH was the first Church of England congregation gathered in Pennsylvania, and dates from 1695. By deed of November 15th of that year, the lot on which most of the present edifice stands, including the yard on the south, was conveyed to Joshua Carpenter, the trustee chosen to hold it for that pious use.

At the instance of Henry Compton, the Bishop of London, Penn's Charter provided that that Bishop should have power to appoint a chaplain for the service of any congregation consisting of not less than twenty residents who might desire such a minister.

In 1695, the required number met, appointed a Vestry and purchased a lot of ground, one hundred feet front, on Second Street. The city was in its infancy. There was no minister to aid and encourage the effort. Yet within a year the building was erected, and a zealous pastor, the Rev. Thomas Clayton, was sent out by the Bishop of London to take charge of it. On his arrival here, he found a congregation of about fifty persons, which was increased in the space of two years to seven hundred. He was then suddenly called away by death to his rest and reward.

His successor was the Rev. Evan Evans, who came out in the year 1700, with a license from the Bishop as the minister of Christ Church. He received an annuity of fifty pounds sterling from King William the Third, who also allowed thirty pounds

per annum for the maintenance of a schoolmaster for the children of the congregation. Both these annuities were renewed by Queen Anne.

Mr. Evans, immediately on his arrival, entered on the duties of his particular charge with energy, and at the same time undertook an extraordinary amount of missionary labor. He visited settlements twenty, thirty, fifty miles distant; preached, baptized and administered the Holy Communion wherever he found persons willing to receive him. He encouraged neighboring members of the Church to meet together and hold religious services for mutual instruction and encouragement. He organized many congregations and visited them frequently, without neglecting his duties at home. His flock in Philadelphia rapidly increased. For four years he had no fellow laborer in his wide-reaching field, but by 1704, through his instrumentality, four additional churches were erected in the surrounding settlements. In 1707, domestic duty called him back to England for a time, and while in London he addressed a memorial to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, stating what his labors had been, and what their success, and strongly urging that a Bishop should be sent over for the Colonies. In this memorial he names the following places which he often visited: Chichester, Chester, Maidenhead, where he baptized nineteen children at one time; Chester or Upland, Evesham, in West Jersey, Montgomery, Radnor and Oxford. "All which," he says, "though equally fatiguing and expensive, I frequently went to, and preached in, being by all means determined to lose none of those whom I had gained, but rather add to them, till the Society otherwise provide for them. Montgomery and Radnor had the most considerable share in my labors, where I preached in Welsh once a fortnight for four years." He had baptized in Philadelphia and the above-named places eight hundred adults and children. On his return to his parish, in 1709, he continued to visit as before the neighboring settlements, and on one occasion baptized "a whole family of Quakers to the number of fifteen."

Mr. Evans again visited England in 1715, at which time he received the honorary degree of doctor of divinity from

The Reverend Thomas Bray, D.D., Commissary

one of the English universities. He returned the year following and undertook the charge of Oxford and Radnor, in connection with his own Church, but the duties were too arduous, by reason of his age and infirmities; and he resigned in 1718, to accept a less laborious cure offered him by the Governor of Maryland, and there he died in 1721. The Society in England bore this testimony to his character, "that he had been a faithful missionary, and had proved a great instrument toward settling religion and the Church of England in those wild parts."

But while due praise is awarded to both Mr. Clayton and Doctor Evans, we must not forget that it was a small band of devoted laymen who, unaided and alone, before the arrival of any minister, organized themselves into a congregation and built this Church, the first in the province, and, accordingly, the mother of all the churches here.

Several clergymen visiting Pennsylvania temporarily took charge, or at least preached for some time, in the absence of an appointee of the Bishop of London. Among them appears to have been Rev. John Arrowsmith, as early as 1697, he afterward serving the parish as schoolmaster. Others were John Talbot and Richard Welton, the two American Bishops consecrated by non-jurors in the reign of George I, and Rev. William Smith, D.D., first Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

Beginning with the crown officers of the earliest time, such as Colonel Robert Quarry, Judge of the Admiralty, and John Moore, Advocate of that Court, and continuing with the Lieutenant Governors under the Penns and various connections of that family, and ending with Benjamin Franklin and several other signers of the Declaration of Independence, the congregation in Colonial times included nearly every Philadelphian of prominence outside of the Society of Friends. It also included the first President of the United States, from 1790 to 1797, and many distinguished statesmen while Philadelphia was the capital of the nation. A number of public institutions as well as churches have been founded and nurtured by the people of Christ Church.

General Forbes, who captured Fort Duquesne, was buried in the chancel. The funeral of Peyton Randolph, first President of the Continental Congress, took place in the Church. The body of the last Governor Penn found a resting-place under a slab which marks the spot. Bishop White's remains were translated from the family vault to their present place before the altar rails.

In the yard surrounding the Church edifice are the bodies of Robert Morris and James Wilson, Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and of General Charles Lee.

In the burial ground at Fifth and Arch Streets, bought by the Church in 1719, were interred Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush, and, it is believed, George Ross, whose funeral is entered on the Church records. Among the Revolutionary soldiers whose tombstones can be found there are Generals James Irvine and Jacob Morgan.

The first church building was finished before 1697, Governor Nicholson, of Maryland, subscribing liberally. Within thirty years following, it was twice altered to accommodate the increased attendance, the alterations of 1711 resulting in what has been called the second church. In 1725, a lot adjoining on the north was purchased, and in 1727, further alterations were begun around the former structure, which finally took shape in the present building in the general style of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, under the design and superintendence of Dr. John Kearsley, a Vestryman. It was completed by May, 1747, except the tower, which was finished in 1754. Services continued to be held throughout the period of construction. It was in the unfinished building that Whitefield several times preached. The spire has been several times struck by lightning and was repaired in 1908, exactly reproducing the previous appearance.

The interior was altered in 1834, the high-back pews of Washington's time being replaced by low pews, and the galleries being set back from the pillars, under the superintendence of Thomas U. Walter, architect of Girard College and of the dome and extensions of the Capitol at Washington. In 1881, the present pews were put in, and certain old doorways, turned

into windows in 1834, were reopened, and the tiled floor showing the gravestones was relaid, thus restoring approximately the original arrangements of the interior.

For sixty-six *years after* its *organization* this was the only Episcopal congregation, and theirs was the only church edifice belonging to our communion in Philadelphia. The population of the city had then increased to about eighteen thousand; the old building had been twice enlarged, and then was replaced by a much more commodious one; yet that was filled, and there were many applicants for sittings who could not be accommodated. The Vestry, therefore, resolved, in June, 1758, that it was time to build a second church. They appointed a treasurer and building committee, composed of some of the most influential men of the congregation, and the work was undertaken in good earnest "under the management of the Minister, Church Wardens and Vestry of Christ Church, for the time being." The new church was named St. Peter's, and was opened for divine service in September, 1761; and from that time until the building of a third church the two were known as the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's, under one Rector, with Assistant Ministers, and one Vestry. In 1809 St. James's Church was built in like manner as St. Peter's, by the same corporation, and the three were thereafter known, until their separation, as the United Churches of Christ Church, St. Peter's and St. James's.

The first charter was obtained June 24, 1765, after the building of St. Peter's as a chapel of ease. It was signed by John Penn, William Penn's grandson. It made the Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's in the City of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, a body politic. St. James's Church was united with the others by Act of Assembly, March 10, 1810, and separated from them by Act of February 5, 1829. The separation of the older churches was consummated by Act of January 13, 1832, since which Christ Church, continuing its old life as the mother Church of Pennsylvania, has had its own corporation, joining St. Peter's only in the management of

Christ Church Hospital, a home for church women, founded by Doctor Kearsley in his will. Christ Church Chapel is a place of worship belonging to this Parish, the Vestry of which choose from among themselves six managers, and these in turn choose six others from the attendants of the services at the chapel; and these six administer its affairs.

The Vestrymen, from 1717 (when the minutes which are preserved begin) to the building of St. Peter's in 1761, include Acting Governors Gookin, Keith and Palmer, the Asshetons, and other members of the Governor's Council, Charles Willing and other Mayors, and Andrew Bradford, who published the first newspaper in Pennsylvania. Chief Justices Chew, Shippen and Tilghman, Thomas Willing, of the Continental Congress, and Francis Hopkinson, the Signer, were in the Vestry of the United Churches. Horace Binney and William M. Meredith were in that of Christ Church after the separation of the two congregations.

On July 4, 1776, the Vestry met, and, in view of the Declaration that the American colonies were independent, voted that it was proper to omit the prayers for the King of Great Britain. The service books, with these corrections in the handwriting of the clergy, are preserved.

The Continental Congress attended service in a body on one or more occasions.

Here the colonial governors had their State Pew, marked by a finely carved coat-of-arms with the royal monogram, W. M., still preserved.

On the façade over the east window a medallion of George II is to be seen. It was removed during the Revolution, and recently replaced.

The Penn family pew was No. 60. The Washington pew was No. 58; the same was also officially reserved for John Adams while President, and was occupied by the Marquis de Lafayette on his second visit to this country.

The Franklin family pew was No. 70; Robert Morris sat in pew No. 52, and the Hopkinson pew was No. 65; Betsy Ross

occupied pew No. 12. General Cadwallader's pew is also suitably indicated. Whitefield preached here in 1739.

In 1728 the organ, costing £200, was put in; it was remodeled in 1766 at a cost of £500; and again, preserving the keyboard and case, in 1837, at a cost of $6000, by Henry Erben. In 1920, it was rebuilt.

The Parish Library was started in the reign of William and Mary, and contains gifts from Queen Anne; a fuller statement about it is made on a subsequent page; an interesting collection of books came from Ludovic Christian Sprogell in 1728, and 347 volumes from Rev. Charles Chambres, of Dartford, England, in 1753.

The font dates back to very near the organization of the congregation; the candelabra to 1749; the pulpit to 1769; the new altar, in memory of Rev. Edward Y. Buchanan, D.D., brother of President Buchanan, encloses within it the Lord's Table, made just after the American Revolution, by Jonathan Gostelowe, a Vestryman.

Queen Anne gave a flagon, chalice and cover, still used occasionally.

In an effort to compile a catalogue of the Early Silver in America, the Colonial Dames, in 1912, arranged Loan Exhibits in certain centers, and secured the services of Mr. E. Albert Jones, of London, to classify and describe the various treasures. Mr. Jones made a personal visit to Christ Church, photographing and studying the interesting pieces in the parish collection. The Quarry gift of baptismal bowl and communion flagon and pattens has been in use here for 208 years; the Queen Anne flagon and chalice with patten is four years older; but the Kearsley cup attracted more of the collector's notice. The tradition that it was given by the Vestry to Doctor Kearsley in gratitude for his supervision of the enlargement of the Church, about 1750, was supplemented by the assurance from Mr. Jones that the cup was made not later than the year 1610, and in the city of Cologne. Other details concerning this and the rest of the collection appear in his valuable catalogue.

The Bells

AMONG the interesting treasures of the Parish are its bells. The original two were, after long use here, loaned to other congregations, and are still in use—the one at Christ Church Chapel and the other at the Hospital. The first of these bells bears the inscription, "Christ Church, Philadelphia, 1702," and weighs about 700 pounds; it was hung in a forked tree and called the worshippers to the original church until 1712 when the second, or Minister's Bell, arrived. This was the gift of Captain Herne, commander of the *Centurion,* which ship, on its passage from Cowes, in April, 1702, had for its chaplain the Rev. John Talbot, and among its passengers, the Rev. George Keith and the Rev. Patrick Gordon, missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Minister's Bell was cast in 1711, weighs 215 pounds and bears the legend: "The Herne, Anno 1711." On the erection of St. Peter's, in 1761, the two bells were sent to that church and remained there until the chimes of St. Peter's arrived in 1845; when the smaller bell was loaned to St. John's Church, Uniontown, until 1877, when it was brought back and hung in the belfry of the chapel on Pine Street. The earlier and larger bell was transferred from St. Peter's to Christ Church Hospital, Belmont, where it is still in use. The present eight were purchased in England, in 1754, and hung in the newly constructed tower, from which they have been rung ever since. The most noteworthy association with this fine peal is that they caught up the message of the Liberty Bell in 1776. Upon the British occupation they were taken down and hidden, to prevent their being recast into implements of war for the enemy. They were removed by the State authorities after the battle of the Brandywine, and with the State House bell and other bells sent to Allentown, Pa., to avoid being melted up by the British. After Howe's evacuation of the city the bells were returned and replaced in the steeple at the public expense. From the minutes of the Vestry in 1858, it appears that the ringers were paid at the rate of £19 yearly for ringing the changes on Sundays; they

were rung also on Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Easter Sunday, Whitsuntide, May 29th and November 5th. They were rung one night a week for improvement in the art, and were not rung at any other time except upon order of the Vestry and the payment of thirty shillings by the appellant to the ringers. On Sunday, June 9, 1850, there was rung on them in three hours and fifteen minutes the first complete peal ever rung in the United States—Holt's ten-part peal of "Grandsire Triples," as recorded on the tablet in the Bell Chamber; the performers of this record feat were Colon Thomas Le Sage, Charles Rahill, Frederick Wade, Henry W. Haley, James Hewett, William Lobb, Edward Sawyer, Richard Bodd and John Davey. This band of trained ringers were brought together fortuitously by the coming of the P. T. Barnum Show, in whose famous aggregation four of these men were performing with hand bells. In later years difficulties were experienced in maintaining a trained band of ringers, and for considerable periods the bells were chimed instead of being rung.

Conventions and Rectors

IN THE history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, this Church edifice is known as the meeting-place of various conferences in the organization of that Church after the Revolution, and as long the chief seat of Bishop White, the consecrator of so many Bishops of that succession, eleven of whom were consecrated within its walls.

In 1785, the Protestant Episcopal Church was here organized, its Constitution was framed and the Prayer Book adopted, and steps were taken to secure the English Episcopate for America.

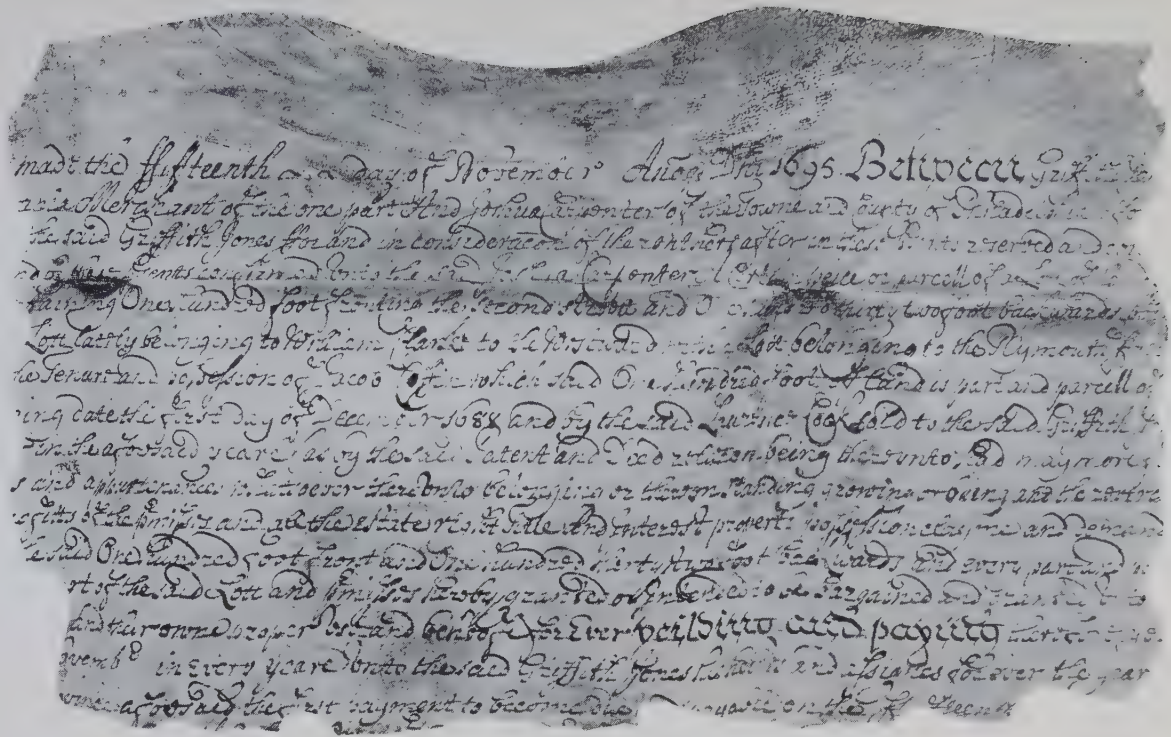
For years the Conventions of the Church, both General and Diocesan, were held here, inaugurating far-reaching enterprises of evangelization. In the upper room, in the northeast corner of the Church, the first "House of Bishops" met.

The following were consecrated to the Episcopate here: 1795, Robert Smith, for South Carolina; 1796, Edward Bass,

for Massachusetts; 1812, Theodore Dehon, for South Carolina; 1818, Nathaniel Bowen, for South Carolina; 1827, Henry Ustick Onderdonk, for Pennsylvania; 1834, James H. Otey, for Tennessee; 1844, Carlton Chase, for New Hampshire; 1844, Nicholas H. Cobb, for Alabama; 1844, Cicero Stephen Hawks, for Missouri; 1845, Alonzo Potter, for Pennsylvania; and 1858, Samuel Bowman, for Pennsylvania. Others received their inspiration and training here, like John Henry Hobart, who was baptized, confirmed, taught and ordained to the Diaconate by Bishop White in Christ Church.

The Primary Convention of the Diocese of Pennsylvania was held in Christ Church on Rogation Monday, 1784, and of the first twenty-nine annual conventions all but one were held here. The first General Convention of the Church in the Colonies was held here in 1785, under the presidency of Doctor White. The second General Convention met here also, in 1786, and the third, which completed the organization of the Church, assembled here in 1789, in July, and again in September. At this altar, the Holy Communion, according to the form in the first book of Edward VI, as adapted by Scottish use, was celebrated by Provost Smith, of the University of Pennsylvania, with the General Convention delegates in the congregation, and immediately afterward it was adopted by them as our national form of the Communion Office. The centennial session of the General Convention was opened here October 3, 1883, at which time there were nearly fifty bishops present in the Church. The centennial commemoration of the conferring of the English Episcopal Succession upon the American Church was celebrated February 4, 1887, by simultaneous services here and at Lambeth Palace.

The Bishop of London, by virtue of a clause in Charles II's charter to Penn, was authorized at the request of twenty inhabitants to license a clergyman to be allowed to minister in Pennsylvania. He licensed for Christ Church Rev. Thomas Clayton, who served in 1698 and 1699; Rev. Evan Evans, who served from 1699, with intermissions, to 1718; Rev. John Vicary, 1719-1722; Rev. Archibald Cummings, 1726-1741; Rev. Robert



PART OF THE ORIGINAL DEED

Jenney, D.D., 1742-1762; and Rev. Richard Peters, D.D., 1762-1775, he being Rector of the United Churches. After the resignation of the last named, the Vestry, on September 25, 1775, elected Rev. Jacob Duché as his successor, subsequently asking the Bishop of London's approbation. Doctor Duché, who had made the first prayer at the session of the Continental Congress, retired from Philadelphia when the British evacuated it, and Rev. William White was chosen to the rectorate April 15, 1779. He served until his death, July 17, 1836, being for the forty-nine years following his consecration, February 4, 1787, Bishop of Pennsylvania. He was the guiding spirit in the organization and extension after the Revolution of the body which previously was a part of the Church of England and afterward took the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Associated with him as his assistant minister were, among others, Blackwell, Chaplain at Valley Forge; De Lancey and Kemper, afterward Bishops; and William Augustus Muhlenberg. Bishop White's successor as Rector of Christ Church was his former assistant, Rev. John Waller James, who survived him only four weeks. Since then the Rectors have been Rev. Benjamin Dorr, D.D., chosen in 1837, died 1889; Rev. Edward A. Foggo, D.D., chosen in 1869, and after his resignation in 1890 for some time Emeritus Rector; Rev. C. Ellis Stevens, LL.D., D.C.L., chosen in 1891, resigned in 1905; and Rev. Louis C. Washburn, S.T.D., chosen in 1907, present Rector.

Church Extension

FROM the very beginning the Clergy and people of the old Church have evidenced their realization of the essential missionary character of their religion. Perhaps their most abundant activity was manifested in the century antedating the Revolution. Clayton, Evans and Cummings were resourceful and indefatigable pioneers, ministering personally here and there and with notable results.

It is particularly interesting to note that as early as 1746 the Parish had a special assistant, the Rev. William Sturgeon,

who for twenty years developed a flourishing mission amongst the negroes here. One of the treasures preserved in the tower room is the Van Pelt chair, given in 1820, to be used by Bishop White when presiding at meetings of the Missionary Society.

The unique character of the Ladies' Missionary Association of the date of 1850, is of special interest.

With noble energy this Association raised the funds for the building of Calvary Monumental Church, at Front and Margaretta Streets, in memory of Bishop White, and to this day the charter of that church provides that: "The incorporated society of 'The Ladies' Missionary Association of Christ Church, Philadelphia,' in consideration of their agency in erecting this Church, shall always be entitled to appoint one Vestryman." St. John's, Bellefonte, and the chapel and Sunday-school building at Townville, Pa., were also erected by this Association.

It would make an impressive record if a complete list of the churches and missions that owe their origin to the zealous Mother Parish should be compiled.

Christ Church Hospital

UNDER the Will of Dr. John Kearsley, dated April 29, 1769, there was given to the Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the United Episcopal Churches, Christ Church and St. Peter's Church in the City of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, moneys for the purchase of a lot of land and the building thereon of an infirmary for the poor or distressed women of the Church of England, the said infirmary when erected to be called Christ Church Hospital. This pioneer charity was further endowed in 1804 by Joseph Dobbins; and later by other friends.

The present substantial and commodious building was erected in 1861 on an extensive tract bordering the park at Wynnefield. The household includes eighty qualified elderly women. The administration of the Institution under the Act of Assembly, 1832, is committed to "six persons, three to be chosen by Christ Church Corporation and the other three to be chosen

by St. Peter's Church Corporation annually at the first meeting after Easter."

Too much praise cannot be given not only to the benefactors through whose munificence there has been developed such a notable property and endowments yielding annually Fifty Thousand Dollars income, but as well to the able and devoted men who have so wisely and tenderly executed the Trust for over one hundred and fifty years. It is most gratifying to note that it is today doing a larger work in a more admirable way than ever.

Episcopal Hospital

In Doctor Foggo's Sketch of the Parish, in 1897, he said: "Christ Church has always been a large contributor to the Episcopal Hospital. The chapel there was built by Miss Hollingsworth, an old and esteemed member of this Parish. The Endowment Fund for the office of Chaplain was given by two other members; Mr. Washington Smith, for some years Warden of the Parish, and for many years teacher of the Bible Class for Men, gave the first half of the amount, and his sister, Miss Wilhelmina, completed it. On four consecutive Thanksgiving Days a check for five thousand dollars was placed by Mr. Washington Smith in the offerings, with which to endow a free bed in the Hospital for the use of the Parish. In 1907, another free bed was endowed in memory of Dr. Alfred Weeks, by his widow, for the use of the Parish. These generous benefactions continue to the benefit of many grateful patients." May the Hospital ever be remembered and sustained with ready liberality; its Christlike work is far-reaching and constantly growing; it is dependent upon the generous gifts of its friends annually.

Sick Room Intercessions

JAMES V:15: "The Prayer of Faith shall save the sick." Almighty and merciful Father, the giver of life and the only source of health and joy, let Thy conscious presence and reclaiming power abide in all Thy needy children; and spread abroad the spirit of the Good Samaritan.

Blessed be Thy name that Thou dost visit us with comforts from above, dost support us in faith and patience in the fellowship of Thy suffering, and dost send us seasonable relief. Extend, we beseech Thee, these Thy mercies to all who call upon Thee; and prosper the means made use of for their cure, that they may be restored to health of body, vigor of mind, and cheerfulness of spirit.

We praise Thee for the chivalrous fraternity of physicians and surgeons. We rejoice in the tireless courage with which some are tracking the slayers of mankind with the white light of science. Grant that under their teaching we may grapple with the sinister forces that have ravaged the race, and that we may so order the conditions of existence that none may be doomed to an untimely death or lack the vitalizing gifts which Thou hast provided in abundance. Strengthen in the whole profession the sense of its sacredness. Though they deal directly with the frail body of man, may they cherish an abiding consciousness of the eternal primacy of the personality that tabernacles in it; and grant that by the call of faith and hope they may summon to their aid the mysterious spirit of man and the energy of Thine all pervading life.

We invoke Thy guidance and favor on the nurses who carry comfort and relief to the afflicted and anxious. Enrich their energy and skill with sympathy and faith; that they may quicken the will to recover and to live more fully in accord with Thy blessed will.

And we pray Thee blessed Lord that all that may befall us may bring us to Thee; and that knowing Thy perfectness, we may be sure in every disappointment that Thou art still loving us, and that in every hour of darkness Thou art still enlightening us, and in every enforced idleness that Thou art still using us, yea, in every death that Thou art giving us life, as in His death Thou didst give life to Thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Windows

SEVERAL years ago the plan was inaugurated to erect here a monumental group of nine windows, which should set forth in an original and impressive way a story of origins worth the telling, and to the telling of which no other place in the land could so happily lend itself.

The plan is to have the series illustrate the influence of Christianity on our civilization, leading up through the Anglican to the American Church. The series, beginning at the eastern end of the south side, is to go around the Church and to culminate in the chancel window. The first window at the southeast corner of the nave represents the Risen Christ commissioning His apostles. This, like all the windows, is divided into an upper scene, depicting the event commemorated, and under it a subject indicating certain results associated with the main event in subsequent history. The sub-subject in this window represents the Apostolic Succession, introducing St. Paul and St. Timothy, St. Ignatius holding the book of his epistles on the Episcopate, St. Athanasius and Gregory the Great, placed here because of his relation to missions in England; St. Columba with the symbol of the boat by which he sailed to and from Iona, St. Augustine holding the banner with which he landed on the Isle of Thanet, and in his right hand the shell with which he baptized Ethelbert, St. Anslem, indicating the Norman Succession, Cranmer representing the Reformation period, and Seabury wearing the mitre which is still preserved at Trinity College, Hartford.

The second window of the series represents the Age of Martyrdom—a most difficult theme to represent in art because mere human agony is not a thing to look upon, however we may be impressed by its heroic purpose. The scene chosen avoids mere physical suffering and represents the trial of the unflinching maiden Agnes. The child is standing before the stern Roman official, Sempronius, sitting in characteristic Roman indifference to anything but law and policy. He is the image of force and of the power that cares for none of these things. Opposite is the venerable figure of the Pontifex Maximus trying to urge

Agnes to save her life by denying her Lord. The central figure is the pure and radiant one of the weak girl defying the powers of earth. She has snatched from her robe the cross and, while she is gentle in waving aside the old man's subtle effort to pervert her, she lifts aloft the sign of eternal hope, knowing that it means her death. Like the first martyr, she seems already to see Christ at the right hand of God. The sub-subject in this window displays Eastern and Western martyrs of the Church, men and women, clergy and laity, from Stephen to Alban.

The third window stands for the sharp transition, when the cross had won and when its triumph cast long rays into the future. The upper scene is the vision of Constantine, and stands for the fact that he, at least, stopped martyrdom by heathenism in his empire and prepared for the growth of the Church. At the head of his army his gaze is fixed upon the words, "*In hoc signo vinces.*" The sub-subject of this window carries out the cross motive as represented, especially by the laity. This has been selected to introduce the important episode of the Crusades. Thus a Palmer stands near a Knight—both the Orders of the Temple. At one side is the vigorous figure of the mitred abbot, Bernard of Clairveaux, preaching the last Crusade. In the center are the regal figures of Godfrey, the first King of Jerusalem, and Louis of France, holding Sainte Chapelle.

The fourth window stands for the Christian Faith, and recalls the period of the Great Councils. The main subject is the Council of Nice. Presiding and seated is Hosius, Bishop of Cordova. Constantine with his retinue of soldiers is standing at one side. Eusebius of Cæsarea is seated at the right. Behind him as a foil is the heretical Eusebius of Nicodemia. The central figure of all is that of Athanasius, the Archdeacon of Alexandria. The sub-subject of this window depicts the first Ecclesiastical Council in America, which, however simple, was one of the most potential gatherings in Christian history and well deserves to be forever commemorated by all who are concerned with the sources of that which is best in our life. The figures of Doctor White,

Doctor Provoost and Doctor Smith are readily recognizable. Others who met with them as representatives from New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina were Beach, Ogden, Blackwell, Wharton, Wilmer, Griffith and Purcell, with Duane, Dennis, Shippen, Atlee, Swift, Craddock, Page and Pinckney, etc. Courageously they adjusted the Church to the new order, revised the liturgy, formulated a constitution and took steps to secure the Episcopate. The Protestant Episcopal Church and all who would understand the sources of the religious forces in America will contemplate this window with reverent gratitude.

The fifth window presented is the eighth in the designed series. It depicts the two primary epochs in the history of the Church's influence on the Nation, namely, the first permanent settlement and the attainment of independence. High over all, between two consoles which form part of the renaissance decoration framing the two scenes, stands an angel with outstretched wings, holding a scroll with the legend, "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom." The main subject is The Settlement of Jamestown, 1607. The little caravel, "The Godspeed," lies at anchor in the river; peering through the stockade is a group of Algonquin Indians; the intrepid Captain John Smith is seated with other leaders of the pioneer band at their daily worship under the ship's sail sheltering them amongst the trees; Chaplain Robert Hunt, "an honest and godly divine," is preaching from the rude board pulpit; the other figures are Captain Christopher Newport, Edward Wingfield, Richard Hackluyt, John Ratcliffe, Bartholomew Gosnold, George Kendall and John Martin, reproduced by the artist from portraits in London. These were the men who, in the providence of God, transplanted the civilization and religion to which we owe our national growth and glory; here, rather than at Plymouth, was the foundation stone of our liberties laid; the Church's prayers offered by devout churchmen consecrated the first deliberative assembly of freemen convened on American soil, kneeling in the primitive church at Jamestown. With ungrudging appreciation of the contribution of Puritan and

Pilgrim and others in their place and time, it is to be everywhere recognized that the roots of the great vine were bedded first in the warm soil of Virginia, and from thence it hath filled the land. To this the window bears eloquent witness. The sub-subject also illustrates the Church's vital relation to the equally important crisis of the Revolution. It is a view of the Christ Church Patriots in 1790, and shows a part of the regular congregation that were stirred by the exhortations of Bishop White and Doctor Smith and Doctor Duché from the wine-glass pulpit outlined in the foreground. They are standing in their high-backed pews in the act of praise. The portraits are reproduced from lithographs admirably—Robert Morris with the White and Harrison children, the President and Mrs. Washington, Hamilton, Betsy Ross, Joseph Hopkinson, Doctor Rush, William Meredith, Francis Hopkinson, Franklin, Mrs. Bache, and their fellow-worshippers, John Penn, Joseph Swift, Horace Binney, Tench Coxe, William Bradford and others. Dignified and rich in coloring, the full message of the unique work unfolds as it is approached in its sequence in the series of windows of which it is the last.

The sixth of the windows in this series has now been installed. It is known as the Liberty Window; and depicts the religious source of human liberty. The main subject pictures the signing of the Magna Charta in 1215 at Runnymede. That epochal document represented the protest of Christian England against absolutism in government, be it that of King or Pope. The declaration that "The Church of England shall be free" was a two edged sword; it meant freedom from Papal domination and freedom from royal usurpation. It was wrung from the unwilling King John, in the teeth of Pope Innocent's repudiation, by the Barons under the leadership of the sturdy Archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton. With all its associations of freedom and human rights, it was the gift of England's Church to the nation and to the race.

The sub-subject is a reproduction of the familiar painting by Matteson said to be in the gallery at Washington. "Prayer in the First Congress, September, 1774." Dr. Jacob Duché of

Original Building

Christ Church is offering the invocation at the meeting of the representatives of the various Colonies in the Continental Congress in Carpenter's Hall. The well known faces of the leaders are readily identified—George Washington, Patrick Henry, John and Samuel Adams, John Jay, Richard Henry Lee, John Rutledge, Philip Livingston, Charles Thompson, Secretary, etc.

The significant fact certified in this window is that in one case after another we come upon Christianity as the source from which human progress derived its principle and its motive. The text on the scroll unfolded by the angel above is "Stand fast therefore in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free." In the crisis of the American Revolution, it was certain reformed branches of the Christian Church that generated the dynamic leadership which proclaimed and procured liberty's progress. In the Continental Congress in 1774 from its President Peyton Randolph down, the men who carried the momentous measures were for the most part Churchmen. Fully two-thirds of them were so identified. So too, in the Congress of 1775, the daring group was largely of the same communion; and Christ Church became yet more markedly the center of patriotic inspiration.

All in all this fine addition to the notable windows has a vital message to certify to the present generation.

The six windows, thus briefly described, have already been constructed by the firm of Heaton, Butler & Bayne, of London, and have been placed in their respective positions in the Church by the King, Newbold, Mifflin, Elkins, Creth and Belfield families. They speak convincingly for the artistic merit of the scheme and quicken the eagerness for its completion.

There yet remain three of the series to be provided, and the great chancel window as well. Following in its order after the Conciliar Window, cartoons are in hand for one representing the Introduction of Christianity into Britain, with the sub-subject showing the Prayer Book Cross at Drake's Bay, California. And then follows the Reformation Window, with a kindred American scene.

The culminating feature in this significant series—the great Chancel Window—is to replace the present inadequate and outworn combination of painted glass by a noble Te Deum subject, representing Christ as the head of His Kingdom, enthroned and worshipped by angels and men, the latter in their manifold works that make up Christian civilization, through which varied elements come down even to us the benediction of His perpetual presence and the invigoration of His personal indwelling, blessings which find their appropriate interpretation in the Sacrament of the Altar over which the window glows.

The Neighborhood House

THE project to safeguard and equip the old Church has made such progress that we congratulate all who have shared in the undertaking. The historic sanctuary has now been put, as far as possible, beyond the risk of fire. The dangerous old Parish Building that connected the Church with the warehouses to the north, filled with inflammable stuff, has been torn down, leaving the sacred edifice unobstructed in its dignity and beauty. The five furnaces that were for years a source of anxiety have been removed so that there is no longer any fire in or about the Church. Moreover, the tombs of such as Robert Morris and others are once again in the open churchyard, kissed by the breath of heaven. The accomplishment of these necessary improvements at this national shrine must gratify every patriot.

But more than this, across American Street, at a safe yet convenient distance, two properties have been bought, and a notable building erected and occupied. This Neighborhood House, with its basement and three stories, 122 feet long by 37 feet wide, contains in its fireproof cellar the boiler that supplies vapor heat to both the Church and the House. The building, which is in architectural harmony with the Church, has been constructed so thoroughly that it should serve its beneficent purposes for many generations. The population that is crowded into the narrow streets of the vicinity is finding here a generous

hospitality to much-needed privileges, and the various activities of the parish have now a home in which to expand.

A new vista of opportunity has opened before the historic parish, a new field for mutual helpfulness, a new center for efficient social service is provided, and the challenge is issued for volunteers to enlist and occupy and bring to pass. Workshop and materials beckon workers. The present earnest band of trained helpers is attracting and welcoming others who hear the call of the Christian Settlement. As the group grows in number and experience, and the agencies develop, the building can be, if need be, enlarged and living rooms incorporated for resident helpers. As this process advances and people realize how the improved methods of rapid transit have quite delivered us from remoteness and isolation, the dear old Church will generate a new vitality and charm and come blessedly close to the lives of her many children.

Other Betterments

THE ancient organ, which has been several times renovated, has again been reconstructed for the use of those who find in this venerable shrine, with its revived activities, their spiritual home; windows which had been bricked up have been reopened; a stairway to the galleries has been erected in the Tower Room, uncovering a balcony which for years lay concealed; an extension of the iron fence supplants the brick wall on the western exposure; the original sash has been replaced over the four stained-glass windows on the south, restoring the exterior appearance; a handsome mural tablet has been given in memory of Bishop Compton, and others are in contemplation, recording names and incidents of superior importance.

These and other contemplated betterments have been the subject of painstaking consideration by the parochial authorities under the generous supervision of the Diocesan Committee on Architecture, and more particularly of Mr. Horace W. Sellers, a specialist on the colonial period.

Whence came the Declaration of Independence?

What had Christ Church to do with it?

Let us lead up to yet riper thoughts on earlier movements,
by presenting first

An Answer given to this Popular Inquiry

By the

RECTOR OF CHRIST CHURCH

in the

Pine Street Presbyterian Church

at the

UNITED PATRIOTIC SERVICE

Representing
the Churches Influential in the Revolution

Fourth of July, 1915

"Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free."
—Galatians V: I.

THERE is much in this high challenge of the great Apostle on which we may not here dwell; but it may aptly serve as a keynote in introducing the theme for our consideration at this service. St. Paul confidently traces human liberty to its source in Jesus Christ; and stirringly calls for its expansion through a large and daring loyalty to Him.

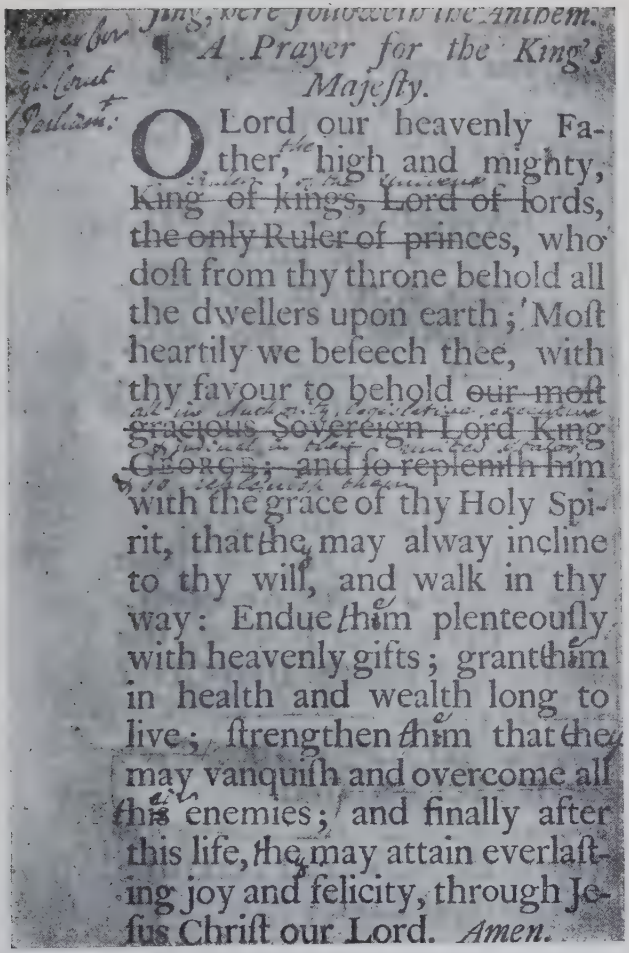
It may be noted that in his demand for freedom he is poles apart from certain petulant iconoclasts who ignore the accredited conclusions of experience and assail institutions to which they owe everything, contending with pallid platitudes for a fictitious free speech. Dealing with radical issues he yet handles them with a reverent regard for the conserving factors in life, and with an exemplary sense of the responsibility involved in distinguishing between liberty and license. Moreover, he is indulging in no empty burst of popular oratory, but soberly and with martyrlike sincerity he emphasizes the vital truth. There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved from all slaveries into the glorious liberty of the children of God, save only the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

True, it may be said that he is here concerning himself with the freedom of the individual, while we are this day considering the wider subject of the independence of a nation. His challenge, however, is none the less apt for this. Discerning men realize that a fundamental need amongst us at the present time is for a more thorough application of personal ethics to our public life. One's character must be carried over into his corporate relations. It may not be as easily evident, but it is as essentially true that the nation, as well as the individual, finds and fosters its freedom in its faithful allegiance to the enfranchising principles, spirit and method of the Great Master of men.

"Stand fast therefore in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free." We have a timely watchword here for our Fourth of July contemplation.

There have been many influences and agencies operating through the years in the evolution of human society; and we may justly glow with comprehending gratitude as we sing the praises of one and another in our festal celebrations. But it would be signally unintelligent for us to fail to recognize that the dynamic back of them all has been and is the Christian religion; and it would be discreditable and damaging beyond measure for us to permit a misapplication of the principle of the separation of Church and State, or temerity born of our unhappy ecclesiastical divisions, or the opposition of superficial cynics, to deter us from certifying frankly and stimulatingly to the vitalizing and molding power of the Church of God in national life. Indubitably it was the great liberating ideas of the redeeming Lord that undermined the entrenched tyrannies of those and succeeding years. Loyalty to His magnetic personality knit His followers into a fellowship, consecrated to the replacing of self-seeking oppressions with self-sacrificing service, to the dignifying of our common manhood, and to seeking that all might live the richest possible life and share it universally.

In his learned volume on "The Gifts of Civilization," Dean Church elaborates the thesis that: "History teaches us this, that in tracing back the course of human improvement we come in one case after another upon Christianity as the source from which improvement derived its principle and its motive; we find no other source adequate to account for the new spring of amendment; and without it, no other source of good could have been relied upon. It was not only the strongest element of salutary change, but one without which others would have had no chance." Of all the sage sayings of Washington, none is more worthy of repetition on Independence Day than that portion of his farewell address wherein he reminded the country that "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to



¶ *A Prayer for the King's Majesty.*

O Lord our heavenly Father, high and mighty, ~~King of kings, Lord of lords, the only Ruler of princes,~~ who doſt from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; Moſt heartily we beſeech thee, with thy favour to behold ~~our moſt gracious Sovereign Lord King GEORGE;~~ and ſo replenish him with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that he may alway incline to thy will, and walk in thy way: Endue him plenteouſly with heavenly gifts; grant him in health and wealth long to live; ſtrengthen him that he may vanquiſh and overcome all his enemies; and finally after this life, he may attain everlaſting joy and felicity, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

ALTERATIONS MADE JULY 4, 1776

subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation deserts the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in the courts of justice! And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure—reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

And let it be further noted, men and brethren, that we cannot overestimate what it has meant for us in this young republic to have had the Christian Church nurturing men with such convictions, and thereby qualifying them as Chief Magistrates to shape wisely the destinies of this land; and it is heartening to find a like wisdom inbred in our latest leaders. Mr. Taft's recent testimony is highly significant: "The longer my experience with government," he says, "the more deeply impressed have I become with the tremendous importance of the part that the Church plays in making popular government what it should be, and in vindicating it as the best kind of government that an intelligent people can establish." And to the same effect is the witness repeatedly borne by our present discriminating Executive, Woodrow Wilson, whose heartfelt message of interest has just been read in your hearing, and for whom this meeting invokes God's guidance and support in this national crisis.

Furthermore, my friends, it behooves us in this land and day to realize that these truths are to be interpreted with no narrow denominational bias. Men of every race in Christendom have flocked to these shores representing every branch of the historic Church, Greek, Roman and Anglican, together with those of more recent groupings; and it becomes us to speak with a large spirit of comprehensive fraternity in cordial acknowledgment of the contribution which each has made to

our national development. Obsolete bigotries are here to be resolved into a better brotherhood. It is then with no blind or grudging appreciation of what others have later contributed, that we state the simple fact that in the Revolutionary crisis which we this day commemorate, it was certain reformed branches of the Christian Church that generated the dynamic leadership which proclaimed and procured liberty's progress.

In the same spirit of appreciation may I not in this presence and day, when by this and many other ventures we are reclaiming Christian Unity, primarily rejoice in the splendid patriots bred in other Communions than my own; and listen with responsive gratitude to the record of their valorous deeds; the while I briefly recall the part played by those of my own immediate ecclesiastical lineage.

This past month many, who would estimate in their right perspective the origins of our free institutions, have been commemorating the seven hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Magna Charta; that epochal document represented the protest of christian England against absolutism in government, be it that of Pope or King. The declaration that: "The Church of England shall be free" was a two-edged sword, and it was meant to be. It meant freedom from papal domination, and freedom from royal usurpation. It was wrung from the unwilling John and in the teeth of Pope Innocent's repudiation by the Barons, under the study Archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton. As his great predecessor, Archbishop Theodore, in the seventh century had unified the Church in the various petty kingdoms in the land, and thus created a national consciousness that led finally to the development of the nation itself; so under Langton, Magna Charta, with all its associations of freedom and human rights was the gift of England's Church to the nation and to the race.

And so when we come down the path of history to the opening up of this our own beloved country, let it be recalled that, after all is said and done, it was discovered by Cabot; and settled at Jamestown, Plymouth and Pennsylvania by

similar breeds of Christian Englishmen, and that it owes its existence, its institutions and very much that has made it great and glorious to its English antecedents, shaped and inspired as they were by England's Church.

Others there are who have precious memories to cherish and transmit, but as Americans and as Churchmen who trace unbroken succession through England to Apostolic Days, you would not have us forget that it was this Church's prayers and the presence of this Church's minister that consecrated, in 1619, the first deliberative assembly of freemen on American soil, which met in the little church at Jamestown, Va., where the foundation stones of our country's liberties were laid.

Men of various races and various groupings in Christendom united in the mighty struggle which won for us our independence. With a clear, harmonious voice they echoed the cry which sounded forth in old St. John's Church in Richmond from Patrick Henry's lips: "Give me liberty or give me death." And foremost amongst them, when the need for Revolution arrived, were the sons of the English Church. When the Continental Congress met in 1774 in our own Carpenter's Hall, from its President, Peyton Randolph, down, the men from the several colonies who carried the momentous measures were largely (let us call them) Churchmen. Fully two-thirds of them were so identified. The deliberations of the famous body were opened with prayer by the Rev. Jacob Duché, a minister of Christ Church. So, too, with the Congress of 1775, organized as before with Randolph at its head, and opened with the prayers of the patriot priest, Parson Duché, the daring group was largely of the same communion. And therefore Christ Church became yet more markedly the center of patriotic inspiration. From its pulpit Dr. William Smith delivered the most noteworthy of the utterances which shaped the popular sentiment in the direction of resistance to over-bearing and alien oppression. The discourse was published in countless editions at home and abroad, and was circulated broadcast throughout Great Britain. A fortnight later, from the same pulpit, Parson Duché delivered a scarcely less notable discourse before the First

Battalion of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia; and in a few weeks he preached another sermon of like character before a yet more distinguished congregation: it was July 20th, Congress had set it apart as a day of general humiliation throughout the colonies, and it was as to their veritable spiritual home that the great body of the delegates gathered in the stately sanctuary on Second Street. Significant indeed were the thoughts of that solemn band. Illumination and benediction descended upon those anxious worshippers. From the Throne of Grace fullest inspiration lighted upon those devout souls, the inspiration that animated Richard Henry Lee to introduce the critical resolution—"That these united colonies are and of a right ought to be free and independent states;" and that nerved Franklin, Livingston, Adams, Sherman and Jefferson to draft the immortal Declaration which elaborated that resolution, and set forth the causes for separating from Great Britain, and that fired the fifty-six valiant signers, thirty-six of whom were of this Church, to append their names as a mutual pledge of life, fortune and honor, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine providence. Yes, it was the animating spirit of God, working through His Church, that wrought amongst us the uplifting movement which we this day commemorate.

Dr. William White, afterwards the first Bishop of the State, was the revered pastor and adviser of Washington, and Chaplain of Congress. His vestry was the first corporate body in the country to recognize Independence, meeting on July 4th, as their bells caught up the echo of the Liberty Bell, and altering the Prayer Book to make it harmonize with the Declaration. Clearly he is within bounds who has said: "Christ Church shares with Old Faneuil Hall (the gift of Churchmen to Boston patriots) the proud distinction of being a cradle of the country itself, as it is the cradle of the Church in America. The sacred pile is a memorial to God, to the Church, and to the Nation." Yet redolent as its record is—and we have given but typical items in it—it is recalled this day in no vain spirit of self glorying, nor of bespeaking for it the complacent patronage that might be accorded to the relic of a spent force. But we remind

ourselves of its signal influence in the development of the men who led in the great crisis because it serves as a striking illustration of the part which the Christian Church generally may and must play if liberty and justice are to prevail on this earth.

These are dark days for many of our brother men. The Gospel of Hate has envenomed the nations of Europe. Never was this poor groping world in such dire need of that which alone can usher in the reign of peace and progress.

It behooves us in this favored country resolutely to analyze the confused cries for preparedness. Unterrified by alarmists let our responsible representatives maintain an efficient military and naval police force; the while, with vision and courage our people gird themselves for the manifest destiny of helpful leadership in all that makes for the enlightened civilization of the next generation, without delay, and without stint despatching relief to the desolated families in devastated districts. Above all, let us meet the crucial situation by bending our minds to the great task of fostering a deeper spirit of racial sympathy and international fraternity, and of exalting in men's hearts the divine ideal of universal liberty based on law.

Beyond all doubt, brethren, the time has come for Christian men here and everywhere to take their religion far more seriously. Our only hope lies in the leavening spirit of Him who came to establish the reign of love and peace, and whose champions must yet redeem the race from falsehood, greed, and oppression. The call rings, clear and penetrating, in our ears this day, as it fell from the lips of the Apostle—"Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free."

Let this generation of alert patriots catch and teach the native and foreign born amongst us to sing out the depth of meaning in the familiar stanza—

When the wild tempests rave,
Ruler of wind and wave,
Do Thou our country save
By Thy great might.

Hymn written for the Independence Day service

Tune Canonbury

By the Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Garland, D.D.

Lord, in Thy house this sacred day,
We kneel where patriots knelt to pray;
They pledged anew their faith in Thee
Then took up arms for liberty.

Not in their strength, but in Thy might
They trusted to defend the right;
And Thou didst guide them by Thy hand
And stablished firm our fatherland.

God of the Patriots! be our guide
Protect this land for which they died;
Give us our fathers' faith in Thee,
To live for truth and liberty.

Lord, lead us in the paths of peace
Till wars throughout the world shall cease;
Till Nations' hate and strife have died
And righteous peace and love abide.

The War to End War

In Tower Room

War Echoes

RECALLING thus the militant patriotism of the Revolutionary period, let us slip in here a reference to the Parish response to the late catastrophe.

In the Minute Book of the Vestry, there is this entry:

"The Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Christ Church, Philadelphia, at their first regular meeting after the fateful 6th held at the Rector's office, April 10, 1917, adopted the following Minute:

" 'Whereas our President and Congress declare a State of War exists between these United States and Germany; we, the custodians of this patriotic shrine, and the representatives of the Christian congregation worshiping therein, do pledge anew our loyal support collectively and individually to our Government in defence of the sacred principles for which the country is now called to arms. Conscious of our paramount responsibility at such a time to assist in mobilizing the powers of our religion which alone can avail to safeguard the soul of the nation, and to advance the Kingdom of the Prince of Peace, we do hereby re-dedicate ourselves to this supreme task in the spirit of the Revolutionary Fathers who knelt in this Sanctuary. We offer the use of our buildings for such purposes as may seem best fitted to aid the National Cause. In all available ways we would stand by the President; and co-operate with all men of good will in inter-nationalizing the ideals and methods of our Universal Lord and Master, Jesus Christ.' "

Our thinking and speaking were concentrated more and more upon the effort to rightly apprehend and apply the teachings of Jesus to an emergency likely to bring out the worst in us all.

In retrospect the story of how the American Church rose to the demands of those days is full of lights and shadows. The temptation to scrap Christianity for the time being beset many; and the war hysteria with its orgy of hate permeated

far. Politicians, profiteers and propagandists vociferated; and our sectarianism found but a discordant and ineffective message. Some day, however, the bright side of the record will get its hearing; and the influence of the Patriots' Sanctuary may prove worth recalling. All the stirring activities of the times found zealous recruits, like knights of old consecrated at the altar. Youth volunteering before the draft. Eager workers in every direction.

Outside the Church this sign was hung and its invitation extensively accepted—

The Patriots' Sanctuary
Historic Bells Chime National Anthem
at Noonday

Open to all for Meditation and Prayer during the War

COME IN AND PRAY FOR

Our Country and those in Authority.
Our Enlisted Men and the Allies.
Our City, and those who sojourn here.
Our Churches, and all who exalt God.
Those who bear relief and comfort.
The Wounded and the Dying and those who mourn.
The Forgiveness of our Enemies, and all who would have Might make Right.
Repentance, Faith and Obedience.
Righteousness, Temperance and Purity.
True Religion, and Spiritual Power.
Unity, Fraternity and Loyalty.
The Will of God and the Spirit of Christ.
A Just and Lasting Peace.

"They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength."

Publicly and privately aspirations found expression in many new forms of which the following was typical:

God of our fathers, who hast raised up this nation for a glorious mission, and hast sent Thy Church to leaven the world, deepen in us and all who call themselves Christians the sense of our surpassing opportunity in this time of war, as witnesses to Thee; help us the more faithfully to consider Thy Will and share Thy Spirit and follow Thy way; that so we may enter into Thy great reward. Bless our leaders with vision and strength in upholding the high cause of human liberty. Shield from every evil the men who serve in the Army and Navy, and inspire them with a holy enthusiasm. Animate the minds of the people with the unifying spirit of sacrificial patriotism. Make us grateful stewards of Thy unmerited bounty to the relief of those in need. And, above all, so enlighten and quicken Thy servants that we may be fit instruments to Thy glory, increasing the righteousness which alone exalteth a nation, and hastening Thy Kingdom; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

In the larger fellowship of the Diocese, Pennsylvania led the way in the formation of a War Commission, immediately concerned to follow its young soldiers into camps and cantonments, equipping qualified chaplains and discovering ways and means for supplying vital wants for the oncoming host of splendid young manhood. At Niagara, League Island, Dix, Meade, Cape May, Augusta and wherever our Pennsylvania lads were assembled, the Commission followed with every resource of personnel and equipment. The little devotional manual called "A Prayer Book for Soldiers and Sailors" published by the Bishop White Prayer Book Society was issued by the tens of thousands; and adopted with its musical edition and band scores everywhere.

After the Armistice a memorial tree was planted in the south yard, in honor of Ensign Joseph Faussett Bellak, our gold-star member. And on October 2, 1919, there was unveiled in the Tower Room a bronze tablet giving the Honor Roll—

"With gratitude to God, Who has entrusted the
fruits of Victory to us!
With affectionate appreciation of the noble
services our loved ones rendered.
And with reverent consecration of all that we
are and have, to the high call of the future."

and the flag of the Medical Department of the 309th Field Artillery was presented by Lt.-Col. William Easterly Ashton, and was placed as a permanent memorial in the Chancel, and the three score survivors were welcomed back with Benediction and new challenge—

"Unto Thee, O God, do we give thanks; yea, unto Thee do we give thanks, for the victory of justice and righteousness which brings peace to a bruised and broken world. Grant unto us that we may use the fruits of victory nobly, and show ourselves worthy of Thy gift of peace; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"Victorious Crusaders
For righteousness, all hail!
Your homeland Church enriches
Its memories with your tale.
This shrine where patriots knelt
Rings with your praises now.
The world unites to shower
Its blessings on your brow.

" 'Carry on, Brave Hearts! Carry on!'
The fateful day is all your own,
The Evil Thing is overthrown,
The mighty victory is won—
'Carry on, Brave Hearts! Carry on!'
Your might shall set Christ on His throne
And His sweet grace in full atone
For all that you have undergone—
'Carry on, Brave Hearts! Carry on!' "

The Visit of the Archbishop of York at a Critical Moment in the World War, March 24, 1918

ONE of the most memorable of the special occasions in our history occurred on Palm Sunday, 1918, when the Most Reverend Cosmo Gordon Lang, D.D., addressed a congregation of representative citizens who thronged the Church and outside. His visit was important not only because of his standing as one of the foremost ecclesiastics in Europe, but more particularly because of its semi-official character. He was eagerly welcomed in Philadelphia by state and city officials and by leading representatives of the religious, historical, social, educational and business circles. He spoke to responsive crowds, not only in the old Church, but also at a Mass Meeting in the Metropolitan Opera House in the afternoon of the same day, and at a continuous round of assemblies on the following day. His presence here and elsewhere in the country produced important consequences.

Besides the Archbishop and his Chaplain, the Rev. J. H. Ironmonger, those who officiated at the Morning Service were Bishop Rhinelander, Dr. James A. Montgomery and the Rector. Just before the sermon, Bishop Rhinelander entered the pulpit and said:

There is no more fitting place for our welcome to our distinguished visitor than this historic Church. No doubt there is a striking contrast between the glorious York Minster and this Colonial Parish Church, now left isolated, by a shift of population, in the midst of a purely commercial district.

Some day, perhaps, when our faith is strong, we too shall start Cathedral building, but, meanwhile, it is here in Christ Church that we find ourselves peculiarly sensitive to deep spiritual influences and emotions and are prepared to see new visions and to set them to new tasks.

There is another contrast no less striking. This Church is vividly associated with our Revolutionary days. Here our Revolutionary leaders came; here they prayed; from here they went forth to declare and make good our independence. Today

Christ Church of the Revolution has become Christ Church of the new alliance—of an alliance destined, I believe, to be more close and vital than any other alliance in all history, between two nations in a common cause.

This indeed seems a sharp contrast. And yet in reality what could be more natural and more clearly in accord with God's will? For, in our Revolutionary days, though we were fighting against Englishmen, we were none the less fighting for ideals which England herself had taught us to hold more dear than life itself, ideals of liberty, righteousness and justice, for which the very name of England stands; for which we stand at England's side today, and, please God, shall stand for all the days to come.

So we freely pledge to our beloved guest and visitor as swift a sympathy, as keen a will, as he could find at home. Indeed our home is his as his is ours. The mother spirit, the measureless sacrifice, the undaunted courage of his people, we are resolved, with God's help, to emulate.

We are with England in this war till victory is won, no matter what victory may cost. And after victory we shall be with England still, keeping the world at peace.

It is then with profound thankfulness and with a very moving sense of the thrilling significance of this occasion that, in this place and at this very hour of the great battle now raging for our common liberties, I welcome in your name and in the name of those you represent, His Grace, The Right Honorable and Most Reverend Cosmo Gordon Lang, D.D., Archbishop of York.

Thereafter, in an atmosphere tense with emotion the Archbishop was escorted from the Sanctuary, ascended the pulpit and spoke as follows:

My text is the 9th verse of the 9th chapter of the book of the Prophet Zachariah: "Behold thy King cometh unto thee."

The voice of the 89th of a long line of archbishops who have ruled the Church of God, in a city where Roman emperors were proclaimed and lived, and which echoed to the tramp of Roman legions, and which is associated with every stage of the

long struggle by which our race has achieved its freedom, is, indeed, the voice of Old England to speak to you today, in the heart of a city, which still in so singular a measure embodies the spirit to which this new world was dedicated. This is, indeed, a day which touches the mystic chords of memory. I cannot forget that for this Church one of my predecessors consecrated that good old man whose body rests beneath the altar there, the first Bishop of Pennsylvania. I cannot forget, as the Bishop, in his words of most cheering and strengthening welcome, has reminded me that in this Church the Fathers of your Constitution confided their liberties to the guidance and blessing of Almighty God.

On my way hither I passed the Hall of Independence, where that Assembly, strong, sober and God-fearing, met to give to this country the Constitution which you prize as you prize your life itself. And here assembled, with all these memories and associations crowding around our minds and hearts, we assemble at a time when we cannot but remember with even deeper feelings, that this the common heritage of liberty which you took, and which we ought to have given, but which is forever ours is now in danger, and we are here representing these two great nations, brought together at the beginning of this twentieth century to defend the heritage which their fathers bequeathed to them in trust; and the day on which we thus assemble is one of which it may be said that it marks the essential crisis of this tremendous struggle which has been wearing the hearts and energies of my people and the people of France for three and a half years, and into which you are now throwing all your energies and hopes.

As we meet in the peace of this old-fashioned church, those who are fighting for the ideals of liberty which it breathes, are locked in the deadly embraces of the foe. They are holding against this terrific onset everything for which our fathers wrought and toiled and prayed. We almost hold our breath from hour to hour, as we await the tidings of this tremendous conflict on which the future advance of civilization may depend. Must there not arise from this Church, with all these memories

and associations, to which the Bishop has given voice, a passionate pleading that these men, who are holding our liberties with their own lives, may have strength to endure and to prevail? Must there not also arise a firm and steadfast resolution, not unworthy of the iron will of the Fathers of liberty, who here worshipped their God, that whatever may be the issue of these tremendous days, this people, with all its strength and power, will neither flinch nor fail to help us to carry on the conflict that will bring the nations of the world to freedom and to peace?

I cannot forget that these men who, as we are here assembled, are facing destruction and death, are my own fellow-countrymen. I have lived on the very scene of this battle with the generals who are commanding these forces. I have spoken to thousands of the men who are now standing in this deadly breach, and among them are many who are knitted to my heart by the deepest and most sacred ties. You will understand, my dear people, that on such a day, I would rather be alone, and think and pray, than speak in public, for the thought that these men, my fellow-countrymen, whom I love, may be at this moment mowed down in sacrifice and death, must needs rob my words of much of the strength and force which otherwise they might have.

But nothing has yet occurred to daunt our faith and hope. Everything that has happened I know is in accordance with expectations and plans. There is no reason why we should doubt, but that the same bravery, and, I will dare to add, the same divine suffering, which in the days of the first onset of this massed force at the Marne and at Ypres, resisted and held fast and secure the fortunes of a free civilization, will still stand steady and prevail.

But, after all, the ultimate strength which stands behind these gallant men, is not the strength of the positions prepared by them, to which they may fall back, and exact their full toll of punishment as they go. The ultimate strength which stands behind them is the spirit and the fortitude, the determination of these two nations, now uniting in this great endeavor,

The Ring of Eight Bells

and if it be true, as I think it is, that we are entering the week which will mark not only the crisis of the passing of brave men, but also the crisis of this great struggle for the peace and freedom of the world, must we not needs feel, all of us, the need of the arrival of some new, supreme, conquering power which can revive our faith and enkindle our hopes, which may in my nation give us strength to endure, and in yours the determination to give all that you are and have in the service of the spirit which gave you birth?

Can we see, amid all the clouds of anxiety which surround us, can we see the coming of any such supreme, uplifting and conquering power? The day on which we meet gives the answer. It is Palm Sunday, and Palm Sunday recalls our mind to the one supreme figure in history, to the Son of Man, who has in this week entered the crisis of His Passion, and through apparent disaster, death and defeat, bore triumphantly upon the royal strength of His will the peace and the freedom of mankind; and the voice of Palm Sunday to us, in this moment of inevitable anxiety, to us in our need of some new power to strengthen our faith and steel our fortitude, Palm Sunday says to us, "Behold, thy King cometh unto thee."

He did, indeed, ride in royal pomp when He was here among us these nineteen hundred years ago, yet even then, though alone and solitary, and doomed to death, there was about Him a royal majesty, and one of those who thus beheld Him, riding so meekly into the City of Jerusalem, lived to see Him in a vision, the same figure, riding upon a white horse, faithful and true; and He in righteousness doth judge and make war, even followed by the hosts of heaven, riding upon white horses; and still in the midst of our humanity, but in the heart of us, there is this kingly presence and spirit, which enters men, and fortifies their wills, uplifts their faith, and strengthens them for all true resolves and ideals, and gives to them, if they will open their hearts to receive it, the strength and power of His kingly presence.

Can we dare to believe, we men and women of this generation, in what is, let us never forget, a more critical time than

that which any of our fathers faced, can we dare to believe, with the call to us, as it is this week, calling us to unknown struggles and sacrifices, can we dare to believe that this kingly power is about us? It is a question not to be lightly answered. It behooves those who would try to answer it, to remember the words, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." And yet I will dare to say that there is a deep and true sense in which we may claim that in our cause, and with our cause, and behind our cause, there is this kingly presence and this kingly power. For, in the first place, the spirit which was arrayed against Him, is the spirit which is arrayed against us. It is the spirit of self-will, self-assertion. God forbid that we should say that your nation and mine had never been guilty of the sins of this spirit. It was, indeed, fitting that this morning we should gather, under the guidance of the Bishop, to do an act of penitence, for it is, indeed, our penitence, our willingness to acknowledge the misuse of all the freedom and peace that have been given us, our readiness to acknowledge how often in every sphere and department of life we, too, have been guilty of self-will and self-assertion—it is this very penitence that proves that we do not owe allegiance to the spirit which is uppermost in our foe. The only thing, and I use the word advisedly, the only thing about the spirit of our enemy, is that it has claimed that the will and power of self-assertion, which can command equal might, carries with it its own right and justification. It says to the spirit which, even when we have fallen under it, our conscience has recognized to be evil, it says to that spirit, "Be thou my leader, my guide." It is embodied, expressed, justified and fashioned as the very spirit to which the whole nation owes its allegiance.

Therefore, we may feel, I dare to say, we may feel that, in spite of our sense of unworthiness in not meeting that spirit in the only way in which it can be met, for it is impervious to any other appeal, but the strength and force which we can bring to bear against it—we have in our midst the kingly power which has in this week gone forth with the words in his heart, "Now

is the judgment of this world. Now shall the princes of this world be cast out."

And, secondly, may we not, with all humility, yet with all sincerity, may we not claim that the purposes and ideals, which these people sincerely desire, and for whose place and permanence in the world they are now offering these sacrifices, are in accordance with the mind and the spirit of the Christ? Can any of us doubt but that the world would be a better place if these ideals prevailed, than it would if this restless, irresponsible and masterful spirit were to lay its hands upon the nations of the world? There are times when we need to have the courage of our faith, and it seems to me that this is a time in which we should be wanting, not in humility, but in the courage of our faith, unless we dared to bring these ideals before the King and Lord of all men and claim them as his own.

There was a time in the life of that great citizen, who, more than any other, represented in his soul and sustained by his voice, the spirit of American democracy—I mean Abraham Lincoln—there was a time in his life when he felt the need of such a simple and sustaining faith. You may remember his words, in which, in a private paper, he expressed it to others, the moment when he was realizing his loneliness in the midst of the great struggle of the Civil War. "I see the storm coming, and I know that His hand is in it. If He has a place and a work for me, and I think He has, I believe I am ready. I am nothing. The truth is everything. I know that I am right, because I know that liberty is right, for Christ teaches it, and Christ is God."

Simple, straight, manly words. I see no reason why we should not, in this essential crisis, make them our words, and yet, my dear people, I have no sooner said these words than I remember that it is not by words that we shall bring ourselves, our nations, and the men who are fighting for us, and our cause, within the compass of this kingly power of the Lord Christ. It is not by words; it is only by wills, that we can make His presence ours and claim His help and power; it is only in so far as our wills are rising to the level of our ideals,

it is only in so far as we here and now are dedicating ourselves, in our own lives, to the principles for which our brethren are fighting. The strength with which we can win victory over our enemies, can only be the strength with which we are winning victory over ourselves. We claim to stand for the supremacy of moral right. You have entered this war, because you became convinced that when it was a question of moral right you could not, and you dared not, stand aside for anything. That was your verdict. Nothing in business, or prosperity, or success, can justify tampering with moral right. Then does not the claim lie upon each of us, in the world of our own soul? In all our business, in all our politics, the claim of moral right must be regarded as supreme. We claim to be standing for freedom, for the principle that every man is an end in himself, and not a means, for the advantage of others. Then if we hold that claim upon our lips, must we not hold here and now by saying that there is nowhere in the land any class whom we are to exploit for our own profit or advantage; that we are eager and anxious that every man in our community, most of all the poorest and the weakest, should be enjoying not merely a sufficiency of food and drink, and house-room, but the heritage which is his due in all that makes human life worthy of the God who gave it?

We claim to stand for the principle of fellowship, instead of the principle of self-assertion. Then must we not here and now be making the claim that we will suppress and dishonor all the antagonisms of class and party and interests within the state, and that we shall, whatever interests we represent, or politics or capital or labor, that we shall make the claim that we regard all we have and all we can effect as belonging not to ourselves but to the Commonwealth, in the service of which our freedom is made perfect? My point is, that if we are to be sure that our cause is one into which we can bring the inspiration of believing that the royal and kingly power of the Lord Christ is in it and with it, then we must ask ourselves, by making these great principles our own, are we giving them the allegiance not of our words only, but of our wills, our hearts and our souls?

And, lastly, we shall be most sure of this presence and of this power, if we are striving to see this supreme moment of history as God must see it. Elsewhere and in other places I shall speak to you about the struggle as it concerns our national life and fortune. However, we are lifting up our eyes, and seeing in this tremendous crisis, that there must be involved in this great convulsion something vaster and deeper than the mere destruction of the menace of German power. There must be the destroying of an old world in order that a new and better world can take its place. He is in our midst judging and reproving the sins of the civilizations which have forgotten God and the mind and spirit of Christ. He is in our midst showing us the reality of the rack and ruin that comes from the spread of self-will and self-assertion. It may be that only through such great armageddon as this could it have been brought home to the consciences of every nation that self-assertion means disaster, that the pursuit of material wealth and prosperity, even if it has all the resources of science to strengthen it, may rob a nation of all that is great and true, in its own soul. And if the Son of Man is in our midst, judging, He is also, as always, when judgment comes, in our midst calling us. He is bidding us to look up and see that the time of our redemption is drawing nigh. But this war, what is it that redeems it; what is making it great? This war is calling out everywhere a new spirit in the midst of our nations, the spirit which carries with it the promise of a better day. How impressive! How can any of us, who have gone through it, forget how impressive the unanimity with which our two peoples when they had the choice of peace and prosperity, on the one hand, and war, and sacrifice and struggle, on the other hand, chose the path of difficulty rather than the path of ease, because they knew that not otherwise could they save their souls? How impressive! How can we ever forget the way in which in all ranks, and in all classes, men have been eager to spring to the service of their country? Young men have found a new simplification of their lives; they have put behind them all thoughts of income and prosperity, and have found new energies and simplicity of heart by offering their bodies and their

lives in the service of their country. How wonderful that we, after these long years of a material civilization should be living in the midst of a community when men are dying for their brothers. May I read to you some words, which have always seemed to me to express perhaps more than any others, the inner pathos and pity of this struggle in which we are engaged, and I read them because I desire, before I close, to recall to your minds and mine the deeds and words of these men who are now listening to the thunder of the cannon and standing on these battlefields. They are the words of one of our most brilliant scholars: "There is one thought always by me, the thought that other men are dying for me; better men, younger, with more hope in their lives, many of whom I have been taught to love. Christians will be familiar with the thought that men who love you are dying for you. I would like to say that now I seem to be familiar with the feeling that something innocent, something great, something that loves me, is dying, and is dying today."

Dear people, is it not wonderful that we should be living at a time when we are seeing that the powers that exalt and redeem and save a community are the powers that give us this faith in the supremacy of the soul? That shows us that the real test of life is not success, but the capacity for sacrifice; that the real meaning of our existence here is that we should put ourselves at the service of our brethren. These are the things that are moving us now; these are the powers that are calling us. They have a source deeper and greater than ourselves. They are of Christ. And these powers are visible now, saving and uplifting us. And the message of Palm Sunday is "Behold, thy King cometh to thee."

If we then only, my people, and yours, to the full height of our calling, if we can only make our best ideals our own, if we can only fill ourselves with the spirit which is at this moment uplifting and redeeming our struggle, then, and then only, I will dare to say, that there is in our midst the kingly presence and power of the Lord, Jesus Christ; and if we can have this faith, and if we but bear the name of Christ and can sustain it with our fellows, then must we not bring into this conflict the

thought that as the months pass it must develop in us a faith that cannot falter, a hope that can never be extinguished, a will that is to endure; because we say that our conflict is only a part of that great conflict in and through which Christ in the midst of men is preparing the way for His eternal kingdom. If this be the path given to the Christian warrior, then he may live, he and his comrades, may live, to hear the words spoken of them, which surely would be their greatest reward:

"Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

In this day of anxiety and intense emotion let us, my brethren, lift up our eyes and see our King coming unto us; and if we have the courage of our faith, and if we can keep that vision before our eyes, and deep-set within our consciences, then even in this time of darkness, sacrifice and sorrow we may dare to say each to his own motherland: "Rejoice greatly, oh, daughter of Zion. Shout, oh daughter of Jerusalem. Behold, thy King cometh unto thee."

Christ Church and the University

IT WAS Provost Stillè who brought this testimony to one of our celebrations:—

"In speaking of the influence of the members of this congregation on public affairs during the provincial era, I must not forget to claim for some of them the great honor of having been the founders and the early guardians of the College and Academy of Philadelphia.

"Doctor Franklin, who first conceived the plan of this establishment, was a pew-holder in this Church. When he looked around for those who would appreciate and support his project, he took from this congregation mainly the men of education and of means who would aid him. His first choice for headmaster of the Academy was the Rev. Richard Peters, for nearly ten years the rector of Christ Church. Finding it impossible to induce Mr. Peters to accept the place,

he made the final choice of the Rev. William Smith, a member of this congregation.

"In a short time the college thus founded by two members of this parish was perhaps unrivaled and certainly not surpassed by any seminary at that time existing in the Provinces. Of the Trustees previous to the Revolution, nearly four-fifths were members here. And Mr. Peters was for many years the President of the Board."

On Sunday, June 13, 1920, the officers, members of the faculty and members of the graduating class came on one of their periodic pilgrimages to their founders' Church, and were addressed as follows:

St. Matthew V: 6. "Blessed are they that do hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled."

Right heartily do we welcome you men of the University of Pennsylvania to this patriots' sanctuary in this your graduation week. An endless stream of pilgrims to this shrine finds here an inexhaustible fount of inspiration; and out of that same historic spring there issue reminder and challenge of primary concern to you who are faring forth from your Alma Mater to places of leadership in our American life. The echoing note from the past that floats through this vaulted fane and which I hope to help your hearts to hear in such wise that it may (please God) prove an abiding and shaping power, tells of the lure of The Satisfying Passion.

You may read, on your programs (as above), the generous tribute of a former Provost to the men who worshipped here in 1750, and you will not fail to note that it was their unaffected zeal for the common good that gave lustre to their names.

In this year of our 225th anniversary we are harking back two generations earlier, and disclosing this same secret of the Lord in the pathfinders who laid deep and strong the foundations of the city and nation. At such a time we invite you and all who would learn their Philadelphia to place high in the list of worthies the names of two men in particular, Henry Compton and Thomas Bray.

INTERIOR—LOOKING EAST

The former, an outstanding Christian statesman, who was Bishop of London and member of the Privy Council, urged Penn to deal humanely with the Indians; safeguarded the colonists against religious intolerance by inserting in the charter a provision under which this church developed, and unremittingly through his long episcopate made a helpful reality of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction over these plantations to our immeasurable advantage. A valuable sketch of his brilliant career has just been issued from the pen of one of your honored alumni who is equally honored here.

The second, Thomas Bray, was Compton's appointee as Commissary and contributed incalculably to the enrichment of life here in that formative period. With the avowed purpose of inducing the best type of men to volunteer for service as pastors and schoolmasters and citizens who would stand for the higher things in the struggling colonies, he established libraries here and in four other centers in 1696 and 1697, and followed this up by organizing two epoch-making societies for the advancement of Christian knowledge, and for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts; which societies exerted a far-reaching influence through years of nursing care in this country.

For Pennsylvania's prominence in those early days and since, we owe much more than is generally recognized to these two great-hearted men; notable in the goodly company of the blessed who hungered and thirsted after righteousness.

And they were but the forerunners of a crowded succession of high-souled men who builded themselves into our common weal; and from such the torch is passed to our hands that we may bear it aloft in our time and place. The signers of the Declaration and the immortal Washington were but the sons of kindred progenitors, as well as forefathers calling for reverent imitation. An unbroken line of spiritual brethren have been nourished here on the unfailing bread of heaven. Verily this is the people's shrine—none other than the house of God.

"This church is no dead pile of shabby brick and unmeaning timber. It is a living thing. When you enter it, you hear a sound, the sound of some majestic poem chanted. Listen long enough and you will learn that it is made up of the beating of human hearts, of the unscored music of men's souls—that is, if you have ears.

"If you have eyes, you will presently see the church itself —a looming mystery of diverse shapes and shadows. The work of no ordinary builder. The pillars of it go up like the brawny trunks of heroes; the sweet human flesh of men and women is molded into its sheltering walls strong, impregnable; the faces of little children laugh out from every corner; the span and arches of it are the joined hands of (patriot) comrades; and up in the heights and spaces there echo the priceless musings of all the dreamers and sages. Sometimes in the silence of the night one may hear the tiny hammerings of the brothers at work up in the tower—the brotherhood of those who have climbed ahead!"

It is the more significant that such testimony comes from a representative of the modern stage.

In such a sacred place peopled with the deathless memories of those who from the pioneer days in each generation have wrought and fought for the soul of the expanding nation, it is quite natural and congenial to assent emotionally to pleasing pieties.

And yet—

Men and brethren, what is wrong, hither and yon, in this world of ours, in these post-bellum days?

There are some who trace our ills, personal and corporate, to curable defects in our current methods of education. The counts in the indictment are diverse.

An emeritus university president faults the nation's military academy for fatal shortcomings in the war. Alma Mater too often launches us lacking imagination and initiative. Across the sea, best sellers revel in criticizing the schools and colleges.

Reviewing a volume of essays by Dean Inge, the diminishingly-diverting Bernard Shaw reiterates his "conviction that what we call secondary education as practiced at our universities is destructive to any but the strongest minds, and even to them is disastrously confusing.

"I find," he proceeds, "in the minds of all the able and original men and women who have been so educated, a puzzling want of homogeneity. They are full of chunks of unassimilated foreign bodies which are much more troublesome and dangerous than the vacancies we find in the minds of those who have not been educated at all. I prefer a cavity to a cancer or a calculus; it is capable of being filled with healthy tissue, and is not malignant."

He concludes: "In the mind of the Dean, which is quite unmistakably a splendid mind, I find the most ridiculous substances, as if, after the operation of educating him, the surgeon-pedagogue had forgotten to remove his sponges and instruments and sewn them up inside him."

And others than slashing iconoclasts are maintaining that "a collective and hereditary phobia against all belief too frequently characterizes not merely individuals but the universal mind" and propagates itself in centers of contemporary culture. My own conviction is that in far too much of our modern process of education there is an over emphasis upon the merely physical and mental development, leaving the emotional nature unfocused and threatening to swamp our civilization with spiritual illiteracy. Believe me, there is something far more precious and vital than mere meaningless verbiage in the old scholastic motto *"Pro Christo et ecclesia."*

Your preacher would be doing you a grave disservice therefore, did he not bid you here and now to voluntarily subject yourselves to one further examination test, and face the searching question: Has your education kindled in you the undying fire? Has your sense of values been so trained as to magnify and magnetize life's true goal in the trinity of truth and beauty and holiness? Have you consecrated your capacities and careers to apprehending and applying the ultimates

of existence, as enunciated in the Beatitudes of our incarnate Lord, made dynamic in and through His life?

I make no doubt that in one and another soul here this morning just this experience is being registered. Amidst the clamor of your crowded interests these fleeting four years you have been favored in feeling the influence of a leader with a reasoned concern for the things of the spirit. Your affection for your reverent Provost is part of a process which has this for its law—that he who has learned to love a good man is in the way of loving Him that is best—even God.

Of the occasional glimpses into your undergraduate contacts vouchsafed to a townsman, the one I like best to recall is that of the serious-minded young Oriental, who, when asked in public meeting what was in his judgment the prime need in his distant homeland, replied by enumerating four reforms affecting material conditions there; and then he added: "After these sanitary, industrial, political and educational betterments have been accomplished, I can see that my people will still be the same interiorly; and in the last analysis the essential requisite is that they should be inwardly transformed; and this transformation can be effected only by some great enthusiasm, an enthusiasm that shall be both constructive and enduring, and," he concluded, "I am persuaded that the one object that can and will supply such a saving enthusiasm is Jesus Christ."

And just in so far as each of you shares in that Chinaman's discovery, in so far have you grasped the secret of wisdom and qualified for the service which your times await.

And however you may have attained to that discovery, of one thing I am certain, you have not reached it in a fit of absentmindedness; it involves always and for all a veritable spiritual adventure, and whithersoever it may lead you, at least this is sure, it will be through desperate and splendid struggle—"The Kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." Both within and about us the forces of evil have dug themselves in—and with unremitting energy take the offensive. A spiritual slacker is doomed—

aye more, he betrays the citadel. How incredibly anomalous, then, to find a nominal official in a Christian institution, university or church, or a would-be educator of full facultied manhood, who is himself agnostic or worse in respect to the supreme realities. In the din of the conflict the soldiers themselves found unrecorded ways of disposing summarily with wavering officers.

Time was when men formulated a theological document which described God as "without body, parts or passions." The youths, who have survived the trenches, have caught a glimpse of the Christ of the battlefields; and they define God with a new emphasis as the God of heroic enterprise—the God who cares, and cares immeasurably. "Now for the comfortless troubles' sake of the needy, I will up," saith the Lord. Yes, our God is a consuming fire—the fire of love—a love that is resistless and purifying and sacrificial. In the fullness of time with superlative resourcefulness and at unimaginable cost and with infinite abandon He gave Himself to the utmost venture of eternity—the reclamation of rebellious humanity. "This is a true saying and worthy of all men to be received," says St. Paul, "that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners."

And your Bible is but the beckoning record of the upward thrust of the divine in His wayward sons. That brief lesson to which we just listened from the story of the patriarch Abraham revealed the stirring in him of the satisfying passion for righteousness. And so throughout the sacred writings so diverse in age and authorship and composition, the golden thread that binds them into unique unity and gives them the incomparable power to find the common heart, is this unfolding of the aspiring soul of man, making response to the wooing spirit, the spirit of hunger and thirst after righteousness.

What wonder that such a volume is of ageless and race-wide fascination and saving help!

There may be some who would make a distinction in this matter between the two Testaments, and describe the Old

Testament as the book of desire, and the New Testament as the book of realization.

And there is validity in the distinction, since the later covenant gives to the world in the record of the incarnate Son of God the glorious fulfillment of the desire of all nations. And yet one reads his New Testament but superficially who fails to detect in it the revelation of a passion surpassing all that had preceded it. Still rises the cry from the illuminati: "We ourselves groan within ourselves waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of the body." The characteristic attitude of the Christian individual and fellowship is that of prayer and finds voice in the reverberant petitions of the Lord's Prayer. Strip your present-day religion, if you are so inclined, of the accumulations of the past 1900 years; yet there remains at the core and centre of it that wondrously compact outreaching of the soul, the ideal expression of the deepening hunger and thirst after righteousness.

And those eight exquisite revolutionizing sentences, which we call the Beatitudes—the Magna Charta of celestial citizenship—which echo with the authority of Him who was their supreme vindication—in them you have the maximum of challenge to all latent possibilities of ambition that dignify your existence. Herein lies embedded the ever fresh appeal to the noblest in the best of us, as enunciated by Him who spake as never man spake.

The godlike, to the end of time, are they who are aflame with holy desire—desire to overcome, to attain, to serve. And they whose spiritual natures have felt the first throb of living, from contact with the vitalizing Master of men are flooded with extraordinary, intense, persistent desire. Run down the bede-roll of your hero-saints, ancient, medieval or modern, and catch the contagion of their experience and examples. The condition, the objective, the consequence of it all is set forth in the text: "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled."

Nor can the trained intelligence fail to discern the simple yet indispensable technique involved in attaining such charac-

ter development. The stress and strain required to resist the drift or plunge into the morass of selfishness, materialism or vice is inescapable. The disciplines inseparable from the effort to climb skyward are so imperative. The marching orders of the Captain of salvation are so direct and so clearly reveal the law of the case.

One stands amazed at the sheer stupidity of otherwise clever men, who feign indifference to the *vital processes* of spirit culture.

Why wonder at the sinister evils which threaten our corporate life, when the buoys that mark the channel of spiritual commerce are ignored and deliberate wreckage blocks the course?

Serious as may be the frontal assaults threatened by invaders; the defenders of a nation's treasures recognized the yet more dangerous menace of the spread of disaffection within and the abandonment of the means of defense. We need an occasional bugle blast to put us on guard against the malignant rushes of destructive aliens who would pull down the pillars of our civilization—the government, the courts, home and church.

But, yet more intimately, do you and I need to see and declare persistently and convincingly that the imminent peril is from betrayal within—the poisoning of the wells of virtue by greed and self-indulgence.

The sowing of the wind of scorn for idealism and letting down the bars of self-discipline cannot but reap the whirlwind of personal and national dishonor and disaster.

Welcoming home a returning division of the A. E. F., an influential journalist wrote: "Something came upon these men that was scarcely of themselves at all, but rather of the crisis that had brought them together, of the spirit that had brought them through. That is the thing that we must never forget; for in all likelihood we have seen the last of it."

But, men and brethren, have we? I stoutly deny it. The youth of this land have not scrapped their splendid capacity for self-consecration. One gold star, and that for a Penn man,

shines amid the threescore and ten on the service flag of this congregation. They who met that world crisis with the full measure of devotion must not have so sacrificed themselves in vain. It is for you and the fine body of your comrades who are coming into the world of affairs at this time to disprove the charge.

Now and again as we see a great and noble enthusiasm seize upon a generation, we take new hope for the future of this gray old planet.

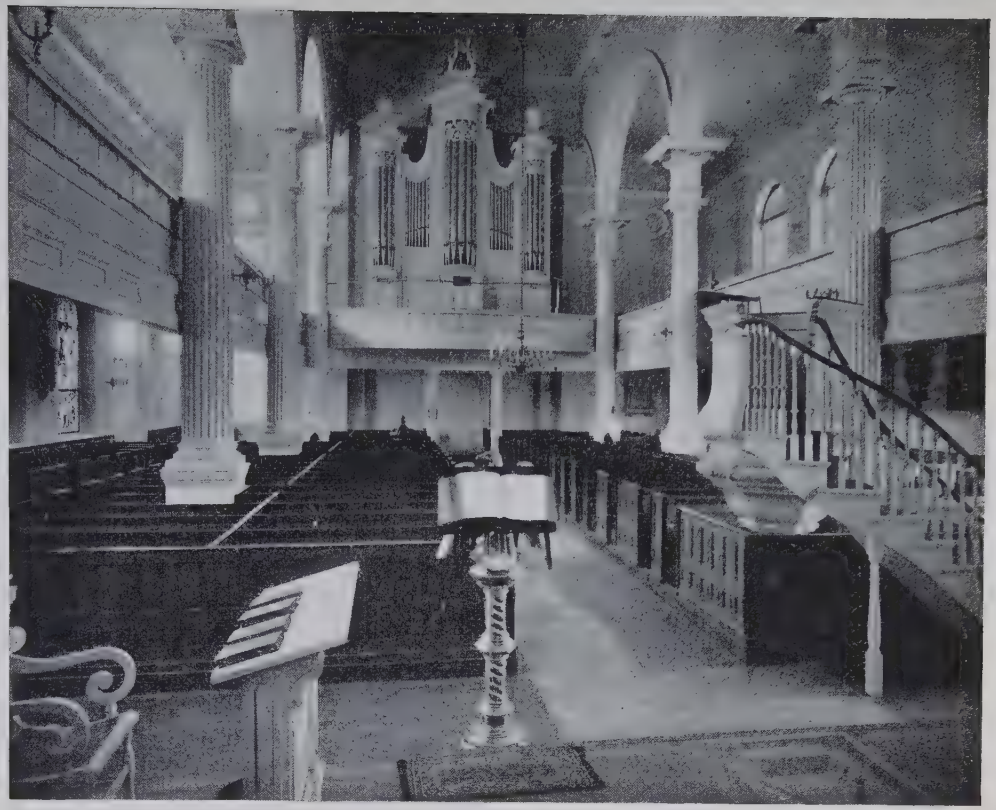
The passion for truth and justice, for a league of nations, for social regeneration, for God and His church must spread from heart to heart, controlling even our politics and business; and the reign of purity, peace and love be set gallantly forward.

And to what group in the community have we a better right to look for self-devoting leadership to such ends, than to the privileged youths whose eyes have been opened to see the vision and whose minds have been enlightened to put first things first?

As the voice of the many who rejoice with you and will follow you with high anticipations, I summon each mother's son of you to the satisfying passion of service for God and man.

To whatsoever employ you put your time and energy, take more firmly your stand with organized religion; carry fresh vigor into the one rallying centre for massing the forces that make for righteousness, the church. Yes, more, I dare to challenge more of you to that vocation, which, bar none, is most productive of the things worth while, and pays in enduring satisfaction—the Christian ministry.

It is a simple, forthright message with which we send you forth from this memorable service. Its value for you depends upon the measure in which from lecture room and study you have caught the temper of wise old Socrates. You may recall how, as he stood in the thronged exchange at Athens and saw the bewildering collection of wares from every clime for which men and women, young and old, elbowed and bar-



INTERIOR—LOOKING WEST

gained, registered his judgment of their worthlessness in comparison with the treasures of the mind and soul.

Life's shop window is filled with gaudy baubles competing for your investment. But a greater than Socrates walks by your side and whispers: "The Kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man seeking goodly pearls, who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it."

Loud mockers in the busy street
Say Christ is crucified again.
Twice pierced His gospel bearing feet,
Twice broken His great heart in vain.

I hear, and to myself I smile,
For Christ talks to me all the while.

"Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled."

The Two Hundred and Twenty-fifth Anniversary

The Two Hundred and Twenty-fifth Anniversary

EARLY in 1919, the vestry approved of a proposition to observe the anniversary of the founding of the Parish and appointed Mr. T. Broom Belfield and Mr. Clement R. Wainwright to serve with the Rector in making necessary arrangements. The Convention of the Diocese took similar action in May and appointed a committee to co-operate with the parochial committee, consisting of the Rev. Dr. Edward M. Jefferys and the Rev. Dr. John H. Mockridge, and Mr. John Cadwalader and Mr. Henry Budd.

It was recognized that the composite character of American foundations would be happily emphasized by recalling the primary contribution to our national life by the Jamestown Settlers and the Philadelphia State Builders; at the same time our attention was being focused upon the Mayflower and Puritan influence.

Churchmen and Separatists each put succeeding generations under immeasurable obligations; and the story of each must be supplemented by that of the other if our understanding of America is to be intelligent.

They who pause in the rush of present duty discovering and disclosing the sources of our development and power, render service of prime value, charting the future.

The first of the public occasions marking the anniversary was the annual Convention of the Diocese which assembled for its opening service on Tuesday, May 4, 1920, at Christ Church. The Holy Communion was celebrated by Bishop Rhinelander assisted by Bishop Garland. The Epistle was read by the Rt. Rev. Rogers Israel, Bishop of Erie, and the Gospel by the Rt. Rev. Cortland Whitehead, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Pittsburgh. The Rt. Rev. William Proctor Remington, D.D., Bishop Suffragan, of South Dakota, was also present in the Chancel with the Rev. Arnold Harris Hord, Registrar of the Diocese, and the Rector of the Church. The Venerable Presiding Bishop

of the Church, the Rt. Rev. Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, D.D., LL.D., delivered the following sermon:

Isaiah LI: 1—"Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged."

To think over the past is a wholesome exercise of the powers of thought. For the past largely shapes the present and conditions the future. Evolution is the simple unfolding in the present and for the future of the things fixed by the involution of the past. What has been and what is, make under God's providence, the what is to be. For wisdom it is as much in order to con the past as it is to know the present or predict the future. The prophets of old gave heed to the facts of the past as well as to the truths of the present and the visions of the future. And if Isaiah dwell long in telling his people of their splendors of greatness and power to come, he will take care also to exhort them to turn to the past and study over the past and learn from the past: "Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged."

Of the past, Christ Church, Philadelphia, counts in 225 years as her own. We are here today gratefully and affectionately to congratulate her upon the remarkable count. She was born in 1695, eighty-one years before the United States as a nation was born. On the British throne were William and Mary, who had been reigning as King and Queen for seven years. Mary was a daughter of James II, late King of England, and William had the royal Stuart blood in his veins, for he was grandson of Charles I.

In 1534 the King, Henry VIII, and the Parliament and the Convocations of Canterbury and York (religious assemblies) had solemnly declared that "the Bishop of Rome has no more rightful authority in the realm of England than any other foreign Bishop." Those heeding the proclamation and repudiating the papal supremacy were styled "the reformed." For thirty-five years the two classes sat and worshipped together in the same parish church, as we Democrats and Republicans sit together and worship in this sacred edifice now; and they con-

Top row—The Quary Pieces, and Kearsley Cup
Second row—Queen Anne Silver, and Tresse Gifts
Some Later Additions Below

tinued under the pastorate of the same bishops and priests. Then, in 1569, Pope Pius V issued a bill of excommunication against Queen Elizabeth and pronounced the people absolved from their allegiance to her. Moreover, he bade them to have churches of their own and priests of their own. This they did, and by and by, though somewhat later, bishops of their own were provided. So the Roman Catholics withdrew from the parish churches into edifices of their own; and now for 350 years Roman Catholics in England are schismatics, seceders from the old Catholic Church of England, and members of what scholars term the modern Italian mission in England. Now James II was one of these seceders, a Roman Catholic. This fact, a practical repudiation of his coronation oath to support the national church as by law established, coupled with his despotic wars, evoked such a storm of disaffection among the people that he was obliged to abdicate. He ran away from his throne in 1688, after sitting on it only three years. Then Parliament invited in King William and Queen Mary. The almost bloodless Revolution of 1688 wrought much good to England. It put the House of Commons to be, instead of the House of Lords, the prevailing partner in the British Government. And it strengthened wholesomely the admirable principle of freedom of speech, and freedom of the press, and freedom of conscience.

With the landing of Chaplain Robert Hunt and his fellow-colonists at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, the Church of England first came to our shores to stay. This was thirteen years before the Pilgrims landed from the *Mayflower* on Plymouth Rock. The Church of England remained on our shores until 1783, when, by the victorious close of the War of the Revolution, the Church of England here became practically and automatically the Church in the United States of America. Christ Church, Philadelphia, then has lived eighty-eight years as a parish of the Church of England and 137 years as a parish of the Church of the United States. For four of those years she had no bishop of her own. For her first eighty-eight years the Bishop of London was her bishop. But in 1783 the change of flag cut her off from his care. For four years, from 1783 to

1787, to have called her an Episcopal Church would have been to utter an etymological falsehood.

Then came Bishop White, *clarum et venerabile nomen,* to be her bishop, consecrated in London by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishops of Bath and Wells and Peterborough. He was doubly her father in God, for he was her rector as well as her bishop. Three years earlier Bishop Seabury had been made Bishop of Connecticut, consecrated in Scotland in 1784. For one hundred and seventy-seven years, from the time of Chaplain Robert Hunt at Jamestown in 1607 to the time of Seabury in 1784, this Prayer Book Church of ours lived and moved and had its being in America, but not in normal condition. It had no resident Bishop. The Bishop of London had nominal jurisdiction. But he never came over here. If a young man wished to be a minister he must go by a sailing vessel to London to be ordained. If a man or woman or boy or girl wished to be confirmed, he, too, or she, must go to London. Hundreds—yes, it is safe to say, thousands—of church folk lived and died unconfirmed. Washington, though an earnest prayer book churchman, was never confirmed. There was no bishop to confirm him. Except for the last fifteen years of his busied life, there was no bishop anywhere in our land. A considerable number of clergymen, it is true, came over from England as chaplains or for private and personal reasons. In 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded in London, and it extended nursing care and protection to the good work of furnishing and sending missionaries. In 1775, when the War of the Revolution began, the one State of Virginia had 91 clergymen and 164 churches. But when the war closed in 1783 very many of Virginia's churches were in ruins, and of her 91 clergymen only 28 remained.

Now think of it: how six generations of boys and girls grew to be men and women without confirmation, and how the disintegrating horrors of war ruined the church edifices and banished the pastors and scattered the flocks, and how the sight and use of the Church of England prayer book, with its

supplications for King George would arouse and foment dislike in American hearts; and thinking of it all, will not the thought make you wonder that this church of ours survived under the hampering disadvantages, and will we not thank God most heartily for such survival?

This church is in all the states. But it is in a sort of *disjecta membra* fashion. How shall she be unified, to be the United Church in the United States? The one who contributed to bring that blessed thing about, more than any other one man, was Bishop White. With a meekness of spirit wonderfully combined with tenacity of purpose and with inexhaustible grace and patience, he met in conference the dogmatic strength of Seabury and in correspondence the complications of the union of church and state in the mother Church of England, and he won in his appeals to the thirteen units to work together, and to legislate together, and to believe together; and he was blessed of heaven as the chief craftsman in preparing and presenting to the American people the fabric of the American national church. Specifically he was the introducer into that fabric of the wholesome, co-ordinate authority of the laity in matters of legislation and government. This was done in the face of stout opposition from Bishop Seabury. He believed it to be a dangerous innovation and an unaccredited practice to lodge in the laity any part of the rulership of the church. But in Bishop White's very soul the American thought of the sacred sovereignty of the people was swelling to its birth, and he could tolerate no gainsaying of its righteous mandate. He won his way, and that altogether healthy and helpful principle of co-ordinate lay authority in ecclesiastical government became imbedded in the organization and history of the American church.

The annals of Bishop White's episcopal life of forty-nine years are quite the very history of the formative period of organization of the American church. In great measure Christ Church, Philadelphia, moulded him for his work, even as he, the pastor, moulded her for her work.

O Churchmen of Pennsylvania—aye, Churchmen of all America—"Look unto the rock whence ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye were digged," and accord to Christ Church on this memorial day the thanks and praise that are her due for the rock of foundation and the pit of preparation which she furnished near two centuries ago!

Thoughts of Christ Church bring another bishop into view —John Henry Hobart. He was born in Philadelphia in 1775, the very year when at the bridge the embattled farmers of Lexington and Concord stood and "fired the shot heard round the world." He lived in his Philadelphia home till he was sixteen years old and then went to Princeton College. In spiritual things and in the plastic years of his boyhood it was Christ Church that reared him and fed him. Dr. White, the rector of Christ Church, was his spiritual pastor and master, and became his bishop when he was twelve years old. He began his ministerial work as a deacon at Oxford and another suburban parish near Philadelphia. He was for a while at New Brunswick, N. J., and at Hempstead, L. I., and then as assistant minister in Trinity, N. Y., but always with the example of Bishop White straight before him and enfolded in the wrappings of his benign influence. He became bishop coadjutor in 1811 and then Bishop of New York in 1816. The nineteen years of his episcopal life were strenuous ones. He had the entire State of New York for his diocese. No other bishop ever lived who was more active and energetic than he.

Under God's providence he came upon the field when greatly needed. True, the country had grown. The thirteen original states were now seventeen by the addition of Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, and a satisfying stability was developing itself under the working of the wise Constitution of 1789.

But the church in all the seventeen states was timid, wavering, enfeebled. The War of the Revolution had ended twenty-eight years since. But men could not forget it. And they distrusted if they did not hate the Episcopal Church, because it was substantially the Church of England. They sus-

pected that she indulged a hankering after classes and ranks and titles and thrones, all which they had thrown overboard they felt for good. The masses with Puritan blood in them cried out against her for introducing and holding to hierarchies and sacerdotalisms which they detected. The popular feeling was that the shallows of formalism, more than the deeps of regeneration and conversion, were the things she gave welcome to.

Then came Bishop Hobart like an armed knight upon the plain. In good temper and with accurate scholarship and sound logic and cheerful patience and undeviating fairness and unconquerable persistence, by his sermons and addresses and writings and conversations, he dealt blows that had a wonderful effect in vitalizing and strengthening and edifying and encouraging the church. His slogan was "Evangelistic Truth and Apostolic Order." And he sounded it valiantly over all the hills and plains and valleys of New York State. And it is not too much to say that its outsoundings and reverberations went into all the seventeen states of the precious Union that God's providence had blessed us with. It aroused church folk. It cheered them. It instructed them. It built them up into hopefulness and unity. Indeed, humanly speaking, it renewed and saved the church.

And if Bishop White was the Washington of the American Church, laying its foundations wisely, patiently, farsightedly, patriotically, so Bishop Hobart was the Lincoln of the American Church, tiding it over the breakers, saving it out from engulfment and conserving its precious life for renewed and reconsecrated continuance.

O Christ Church, venerable mother, we give you thanks and praise again, not alone for your rector and bishop who, under God's blessing, was eminently the founder of the American church, but also for the boy to whom you taught the Catechism and whom you baptized and confirmed, and who, in after years, a bishop also, did much to save the American church out of weakness and despair, and to give to her self-respect and self-poise and healthy strength.

I would fain make mention of the name of one more bishop —Jackson Kemper. He was born the same year in which the

United States under its new Constitution was born, 1789. It was in Christ Church, Philadelphia, that he was made deacon in 1811 and a priest in 1814, and both by Bishop White. For twenty years he served as assistant minister to Bishop White, who himself was filling the joint rectorship of Christ Church and St. Peter's and St. James's. He was consecrated bishop in 1835 in St. Peter's Church, and was the last bishop consecrated by Bishop White, for the latter died in 1836.

Jackson Kemper was our first missionary bishop. The General Convention of 1835 was held in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, and in that convention two most important principles for the conduct of our missionary work were enunciated and enforced. The first was that the church herself is the great missionary society and that every baptized person is a member of such society. The second was that bishops should be, eminently, leaders of missionary work, and therefore that unevangelized regions should have bishops chosen for them and sent out to them. So missionary bishops arose. So ninety-two missionary bishops have been sent out by this Church of ours since 1835. Jackson Kemper was the first of them all. Fit man he was to blaze the way of the new departure. And now, angels hear, I am sure, if we do not, in Missouri and Indiana, in Wisconsin and Minnesota, in all the Northwest—aye, and the Southwest, too—and in the isles of the sea and in foreign lands, the happy rejoicings of multitudes for that missionary bishops have been sent and have come to break the soil and sow the seed and nurse the harvest of church life and growth throughout their borders. And the rejoicings flow forth from what Kemper did and what White did and what Christ Church did in the days of the years gone by. Such was the rock whence they were hewn, and the hole of the pit whence they were digged.

O Christ Church, Philadelphia! Alma, benigna, benedicta et benedicens!

In the two centuries last past thou hast nourished Christian multitudes at thy breast! Three individuals of them we have called up by name. Others manifold might well be called. Our souls go out to thee in gratefulness. Our hearts come back from

thee in hopefulness. Once more we bid thee hail, with thanks and praise. Unto God's gracious mercy and protection we commit thee. And we pray God's blessings on thee, now and evermore. Amen.

At the close of the service, the following minute was read by Mr. John Cadwalader:

Before this convention enters upon the important work that it must accomplish let us pause and reflect upon what these sacred walls have meant to the generations that have gone and what they mean today.

Eighty years ago a former rector wrote: "There is no building in our city, and it may be doubted whether there is any in our country, around which so many hallowed associations cluster and which calls up so many time-honored and holy reminiscences as the venerable structure known as Christ Church."

A century and a half before those words were penned, in 1695, a small number of devout churchmen sought the benefit of the clause in the charter granted to William Penn "that any preacher or preachers approved by the Bishop of London should be allowed to reside in the province whenever 20 inhabitants expressed a desire that such be sent." To Henry Compton, then Lord Bishop of London, we owe that clause, and its effect has indeed been far-reaching.

It was in this year that the land on which we now stand was conveyed to Joshua Carpenter in trust, and Gabriel Thomas, writing from Philadelphia in 1698, says: "The Church of England built a very fine church in this city in the year 1695." That Joshua Carpenter was a zealous churchman is shown by another deed to him and John Moore, trustees, in the year 1700, for the land on which Trinity Church at Oxford stands for the "use and service of those of the Communion of our Holy Mother the Church of England and to no other use or uses whatsoever." The descendants of his brother, Samuel Carpenter, have been many who were worshippers in Christ Church, and include the present rector, Rev. Dr. Washburn.

The influence of Christ Church on the people of this province and its value can hardly be estimated.

After our Revolution there are many well-known reasons for this, but in the eighty years before 1776 the church represented nearly all that was broadening and enlarging to the minds of the people of Philadelphia. It is of interest to know that William Penn's treatment of the Indians, for which he has been so justly praised, he admitted to be due to Bishop Compton, for he wrote in 1683 from Philadelphia to the Lords of Plantation: "I have exactly followed the Bishop of London's counsel by buying and not taking away the natives' land, with whom I have settled a very kind correspondence."

Worthy and virtuous as the members of the Society of Friends were, and continue to be, their principles and restricted ideas were not adapted to the needs of the rapidly growing community engaged in many trades and occupations that have created our great Commonwealth.

The Swedes and Dutch had some ministers here, but the English had none. The Rev. Mr. Clayton, the first chaplain sent by Bishop Compton, served only a short time, but in 1700 the Bishop sent the Rev. Mr. Evans, who officiated for eighteen years. During that time he visited England, and, returning, brought as a gift from Queen Anne the silver vessels from which you have been spiritually fed this morning. The Church of England services soon attracted many, largely those who had separated from the Foxian Quakers, and who became members of the Church of England. Within two years over 500 attended the services. George Keith, the first master of the Friends' Public School, now known as the Penn Charter School, left the society, and at the age of 61 took orders in the Church of England and was sent back to this country by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He and Bishop Compton have been considered as the two men to whom the church is most indebted and who should be remembered by all who study the history of our church in Pennsylvania.

Keith left a valuable journal, and in it he writes in 1702: "At Philadelphia they have prayers in the church not only on the Lord's day and other holy days but all Wednesdays and Fridays weekly, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered monthly, and the number of communicants considerable."

The rector in his Lenten appeal expresses what we must all feel, that "in this anniversary year we are under special bonds to reproduce the zeal for God, the personal devotion, the resourcefulness for service, which qualified the founders of the church in the colony to set forward the Kingdom in their generation."

It is not possible to even mention in any short space the many influences which this first cathedral church has brought to bear upon our diocese and the church throughout our country.

To William White, who for sixty-four years officiated here as rector or as assistant and as Bishop, and who in 1778 was the only Episcopal clergyman in the city of the church after its establishment as separated from the church in England, we owe practically everything, and this brief reference to what Christ Church embodies cannot omit him.

Sunday, February 4, 1787, when William White was consecrated Bishop of the Dioeese of Pennsylvania in the chapel at Lambeth Palace, was indeed a blessed day for our church and our people. I need not refer to what he, our first bishop, did to unite the congregations of the diocese and to create the general church in the United States. It is well known to you. But from the list in his own handwriting of the "twenty-six Bishops consecrated by me, William White," beginning with "1795, Sept. 14, Rev. Robert Smith, D.D.," and closing with "1835, Sept. 25, Rev. Jackson Kemper, D.D.," what his life accomplished may be imagined.

This minute is too long, yet it tells but little. Let us rejoice today that we meet here presided over by the successor of Bishop White, who so worthily fills his chair, and that we can send Philip Mercer Rhinelander and Thomas James

Garland to Lambeth Palace to represent this diocese at the coming council.

We all, O God, thank Thee that we can quote the words of the prophet Isaiah and stand today in "our holy and beautiful house where our fathers praised Thee." The thunderbolt spared it in 1777, and it is not "burned up with fire."

Let us all enter upon the duties before us, refreshed by the thoughts and spiritual blessings we recognize that our heavenly Father has vouchsafed to us.

Culmination of the Festival in November, 1920

THE program included the Sunday morning sermon by the Rt. Rev. Rogers Israel, D.D., Bishop of Erie, speaking for the Church throughout the State, and an afternoon pageant "Advance the Line," and in the evening an illustrated story of "The Church at Work" by the Rev. Llewellyn N. Caley, D.D.

On Monday, November 15th (the exact date of the 1695 deed) there were meetings of the Bishops and Clergy and other guests at 11 and 12:30, and at 1 a luncheon at which greetings were brought by the Governor and Mayor and the Rev. E. Y. Hill, D.D., representing ministers of the city. A reception by the Ladies' Committee at 3 o'clock and a general reception in the evening; with historical papers read at each of these meetings. A historic exhibit and recent structural improvements were opened for inspection through the day. On Thursday the 18th, there was held the Annual Roll Call of the congregation, and on Sunday the 21st, the Commemoration reached its climax with a series of services with the Rt. Rev. Herbert Bury, D.D., English Bishop of north and central Europe, representing the Bishop of London and the Society for Propagating the Gospel, as special preacher.

Governor Sproul pleased his hearers by declaring that he considered Christ Church the most distinguished church

in America. Speaking of the leading part played by its members in revolutionary days he remarked quizzically, "Being a Quaker I have sometimes wondered what the Quaker majority was doing while those things were going on. They and you Episcopalians lived in reasonable harmony, for the sufficient reason that the Quakers would not fight." Deprecating the over-emphasis laid upon New England's rôle in the early development of the nation, he hinted that that prominence was due in part to clever press agent work. "When we consider that the population in Pennsylvania was larger than that of all these New England States, we can understand what an accomplishment has been theirs in keeping themselves so much to the fore in the public eye. However we are all joining in the celebration of the Pilgrim tercentenary next week; and we gladly give them their full share of honor, although it should not be forgotten that the churchmen arrived in Jamestown thirteen years before the frost-bitten Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock. The two streams of settlers have long since merged their differences, as all of them came under the domination of the Scotch Irish.

"We are planning as part of our educational system in this city, to publish a real Pennsylvania history of Pennsylvania. We propose to teach our school children and Pennsylvanians generally, something more proportionate about the large part played in the early life of the nation by Philadelphians and Pennsylvanians. We shall make them familiar with the shrines of the State; and Christ Church, which in my opinion is second in importance only to Independence Hall, is to be one of the high lights in the new history of Pennsylvania."

Mayor Moore in a facetious vein reminded his hearers that he was the Mayor of Catholics, Jews and Episcopalians; but he added "I am not in very good standing in my Methodist home just now," referring to the criticisms aroused by his attitude toward the enforcement of the Blue Laws and the Sunday sports question. "It is impossible and undesirable to drive people to church with a policeman's club."

It was particularly gratifying to have the Mayor express the warmest interest in the proposal to widen Filbert Street and remove menacing buildings to the north of the Church; and to have him indicate his purpose to have an ordinance recommended to Councils toward this end.

The Rev. Edward Yates Hill, D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, and a beloved neighbor, delivered a scholarly and moving address of congratulation, with a plea for unity.

The Prepared Papers Appear in Their Order Herewith.

The Founders

By Charles Penrose Keith, LH.D.

THE founding of Christ Church does not seem to have been the work of any clerical missionary. We do not know that any ordained Anglican minister held service on the shores of the Delaware between the retirement of Rev. John Yeo from New Castle, in or about 1680, and the decision to build a church at Philadelphia. The English immigration under Penn was almost unanimously Quaker at first; but by 1694, such numbers of non-Quakers had been drawn to his Province, coming for trade, public office, agricultural advantages, etc., as to make a considerable minority in the capital city at least, and the Quakers were divided into two hostile sects, the Keithians accusing the other sect, or the Lloydians, with camouflaging the historical truths of Christianity.

Practically the only religious organization for the non-Quakers was the branch of the Church of Sweden, in a few congregations tended by a blind man as the one regular minister for all, and where the language was foreign to the newly arrived settlers. To supply their wants, a movement was made which must be deemed spontaneous from the laity. There is no sign, moreover, that it was stirred up by the civil government, although Col. Fletcher of New York, Penn being

The Neighborhood House

superseded, was Governor of Pennsylvania and Delaware from April 26, 1693, to March 26, 1695.

A certain German Lutheran Pietist, Heinrich Bernhard Koster, arrived in Philadelphia in June, 1694, and, although living mostly further up the Schuylkill, held religious services once a week in the City for some time during his five years' stay in America, speaking in English. Sachse, in his *German Pietists in Pennsylvania,* expresses the opinion that Koster at these services used the Book of Common Prayer. If he did so, it must have been subsequent to the first known step of the Anglican citizens to have a church. He may have served at intervals as a lay reader to those citizens so often having an interregnum in their pastorate. Equally without claim to be the founders of Christ Church are the Keithians or as they called themselves Christian Quakers, who, although lending their meeting-house in Philadelphia while our first house of worship was being built, maintained their organizations until years after May, 1695, when George Keith was disowned by the yearly meeting in London, and none of whom are known to have joined our congregation before Keith was made a deacon by the Bishop of London, in May, 1700.

It has lately been discovered from the printed State Papers relating to the Colonies that the Governor of Maryland who was a great friend and contributor was not the instigator of the Anglicans of our City. In August, 1694, Francis Nicholson, coming to take the Government of Maryland, stopped in Philadelphia. "Then," says Sir Thomas Laurence in his memorial to the Board of Trade of June 25, 1695, "several of the most considerable merchants and Protestants there moved him to solicit the King to confer the penny per pound arising from the side trade for the maintenance of an able minister to reside among them. He was then informed that £130 was then in bank on the penny per pound duty and forfeitures to the King." Who these considerable merchants and Protestants were, we do not know. We suppose that Robert Quary and John Moore and Joshua Carpenter and possibly Charles Sober, Edward Smout, and Samuel Holt,

which five were vestrymen in 1700 and the earliest known vestrymen, may have spoken to Nicholson in August, 1694.

Governor Nicholson took up the matter, and spoke of it in two letters to the Lords of the Privy Council for trade dated respectively Nov. 15, 1694, and June 14, 1695, asking the Lords to hear on the subject Sir Thomas Laurence, Secretary of Maryland, who had sailed for England. Laurence prepared a memorial dated the 25th of June, which was read before the Lords on July 25. On October 30, he appeared before them, and there was consideration of the scheme which was to grant the penny per pound duty on coast trade in tobacco in Pennsylvania with the arrears for the maintenance of two Protestant—*i. e.* Anglican—divines to be sent thither. The matter being referred to the Commissioners of the Treasury, they thought that the better method would be to grant a salary out of the revenue and this the Lords for Trade agreed on November 25, to report to the King. Contemporaneously with these proceedings, the Churchmen of Philadelphia were helping themselves. It must have been as early as June that they began holding consultations for building a house of worship. It took some time to agree upon and negotiate for a site and choose a trustee, viz: Joshua Carpenter, to take title. It was under date of the 15th of the aforesaid November, that Griffith Jones, a Quaker, granted on ground rent to Joshua Carpenter in fee a lot containing in breadth on 2d Street 100 feet and in depth 132 feet. Upon this, which includes half the bed of the present Church Street, our earliest church was begun almost immediately. Many years afterwards, before our present building was started, an additional lot was purchased, and upon it our north wall stands. The earlier and later buildings known as Christ Church have occupied the one site.

Further up Second Street was the Keithian meeting house. There the Episcopalians assembled for worship pending the erection of their first church edifice. It is said in the "Case of the Keithian Meeting House" prepared in 1730 that Christ Church congregation had the use of that building, the

sacraments being administered according to the Established Church, "for some years"—more likely about a year—"until the church (before begun) was finished." It must have been just before going there that a clergyman, whose name is unknown, but who should be recognized as the first pastor of Christ Church, was secured and held services temporarily. From the whole story of his incumbency, which evidently ended before the church was finished, we conclude that he was in regular orders, ready to serve for a brief period, disconnected both previously and afterwards with Nicholson or Maryland, and inclined to live as far as possible at peace with the Quakers. From him, Markham learned that there was a cabal in the City against Markham on account of the latter's friendliness to the Quakers. Rev. John Arrowsmith, a deacon, who had a warrant January 18, 1695-6, for the King's allowance as a minister and schoolmaster going to Maryland, and whom we find taking care of Christ Church and a school at the beginning of 1698, could not have been this minister. Markham writes to Penn on March 1, 1696-7, that he had written concerning this minister to the Bishop of London. Communication with England being in that age at long and irregular intervals, this letter to the Bishop may have been sent some time before January 18, 1696-7, and being apparently a recommendation for preferment, was probably sent after or contemporaneously with the minister's departure from the Province, which we would accordingly fix as happening before January 18, 1696-7.

Under date of January 18, 1696-7, thirty-six persons signed a letter to Nicholson stating that the church edifice was finished and acknowledging his bounty and liberality in assisting them in building it. As the letter appears in Perry's Collections, the thirty-six sign in three columns, Jones to Gilham in that to left of the sheet, Yeates to Gibbs in middle, and Grant to Moore on right. The thirty-six were:

Francis Jones	Jasper Yeates	Willm. Grant
Saml. Peres	Jarvis Bywater	Thos. Briscoll
Darby Greene	Thomas Harris	John Herris
Enoch Hubord	George Fisher	John Harrison
Thos. Walter	Fardinando Dowarthy	Thomas Craven
Thos. Curtis	John Willson	Anth'y Blany
Edwd. Smout	Robt. Quary	Charles Sober
Joshua Carpenter	Sam. Holt	Robt. Snead
Wm. Dyre	Edw. Bury	Jeremiah Price
Addam Birch	Thos. Stapleford	Jeremiah Hunt
John Sibley	John White	Geo. Thompson
Robert Gilham	John Gibbs	John Moore

For some reason, Robert Suders, a prominent Churchman who had come from Jamaica a year before, did not sign. It is likely that very few of the Churchmen of the City refused to sign. Possibly Governor Markham was not asked to sign, although assuredly to be denominated a Churchman. Markham, who had been Lieutenant-Governor under Fletcher, was at this time Lieutenant-Governor as William Penn's deputy. Nicholson was inimical to Penn, and fault-finding about Markham.

Thomas Tench, once in the Council of Maryland, John Crapp, and Dr. William Hall were members of the vestry in 1701, but may not have come to Philadelphia as early as the date of the letter. Therefore, the thirty-six signers with Suders and Markham may be taken as all the Churchmen of any education and property in the City in January, 1696-7.

What will at once strike the Philadelphian of the present day is that so few of the surnames are to be found in our midst borne by descendants. Moore appears in the history of the American Church with Bishop Richard Channing Moore of Virginia. Jasper Yeates has had a great number of persons prominent in this City and in various parts of the world descended from him in the female line; and so has John Moore, among whom we need only mention the late Bishop Bedell of Ohio, the present Bishop Horner of Asheville, and

one of our present vestrymen, Mr. Smith. Some of the thirty-six signers, from the silence of our local records concerning them, are presumed to have removed from the Province after a short residence. Dyer and Grant were Delawareans. Robert Quary left no posterity. Carpenter's son sat in the vestry several years. Samuel Holt was a warden in 1701. Forty-one years later a Samuel Holt was elected a vestryman.

Robert Snead was at least very soon afterwards a Justice, Yeates and Moore had previously held office under Penn. Yeates may have been at one time a Quaker, but if so, he was the only one who had been.

William Dyre, or Dyer, was a grandson of the Quaker martyr Mary Dyre, put to death in New England. Her husband and children appear not to have adopted Quakerism.

Although Joshua Carpenter, trustee of the ground, was a brother of the wealthy Quaker Samuel Carpenter, Provincial Councillor, etc., Joshua Carpenter does not appear to have ever been a Quaker. He was a merchant with a great house on the north side of Chestnut Street, the grounds extending from Sixth to Seventh. From his aforesaid brother the present Rector, Rev. Dr. Washburn, is descended.

The most prominent man of the thirty-six was Robert Quary, generally called Colonel, a merchant by profession, who had been very important in the Government of South Carolina, and was Judge of Admiralty for Pennsylvania, Delaware and West Jersey and at one time was in the Council for New Jersey. The head of the crown officials in Penn's dominions, his interests, long clashed with Penn's and so Quary is much animadverted upon by Quaker writers. By Quary's will he gave to Christ Church £60 Penna. currency to be laid out in silver plate for the use of the communion table; so some of our pieces are marked as of his gift.

John Moore was a "son-in-law," so called, of Robert Quary, which may mean step-son or husband of daughter of Mrs. Quary, probably of a first wife. Moore is said in a family history to have married a daughter of Landgrave Daniel Axtell of South Carolina, and to have held office there.

Moore was a lawyer by profession and had been Attorney-General under Penn, and became Register of Wills and for a long time Collector of the Port.

Robert Snead, by occupation a carpenter, had come from Jamaica in the West Indies, and became a Captain and Justice. He was accused by Francis Jones of stirring up the trouble between Governors Nicholson and Markham.

Francis Jones was a sea captain, who complained to Nicholson against Markham, but afterwards said that Markham had done fairly well.

That with other sinners, criminals were ready to aid a church, is seen in the names of Addam Birch and George Thomson (or Thompson) being subscribed to this letter of thanks to Nicholson and also inserted in a list furnished in 1696 by Edward Randolph of pirates who came to Pennsylvania from South Carolina where they arrived in 1692 from the Red Sea, having it was said shared £1000 a man.

Of the other signers who can be identified, we can do no more than give their occupations: Charles Sober, who was a warden in 1701, was a physician; Thomas Curtis is called a surgeon; Samuel Peres, a merchant; Anthony Blany, a baker; John Sibley, a dyer; and Stapleford and Harrison, carpenters.

To these six and thirty sturdy pioneers, of diverse gifts and attainments, united by a common loyalty to that divine institution which was the most precious inheritance of English speaking peoples, we owe the establishing here of this vitalizing center.

Their names are recalled at this time as those of men who builded better than they knew, securing for themselves spiritual nurture, and erecting a sanctuary wherein souls have been bred competent to lead the nation in successive emergencies.

Arch Street and Fifth—Franklin's Grave

Episcopalian and Quaker in Early Pennsylvania

By the
Reverend Professor George A. Barton,
Ph.D., D.D., LL.D.

DR. JAMES HASTINGS, a Presbyterian, the accomplished editor of the *Expository Times,* published at Aberdeen, Scotland, in noticing a book entitled The Remnant by my friend, Professor Rufus M. Jones, of Haverford College, says in speaking of Christians: "There have, no doubt, been two types—the rebel type and the type which aims at reform within the body. But there is no hiding the sympathy of Dr. Jones with the rebels." This characterization aptly describes the Episcopalians and the Quakers. The former (at least many of them) believe in reform within the body, the latter rebel against practically every form of government and worship which was practiced between the Apostolic age and George Fox. The Episcopalians are a branch of the regulars of the Church militant; the Quakers are the representatives of individual, unorganized, guerilla warfare.

The circumstances under which the colony of Pennsylvania was established and settled naturally led to the mingling of these two elements in the colony. Penn was a Quaker; he sought to establish a Quaker state, in which his co-religionists could enjoy a freedom of conscience which was denied them in the mother country. Naturally in the early years of the colony Friends formed the most numerous body of the population, and the government was in their hands. Having shared in the sufferings of Friends in England, who were compelled to contribute to the support of a religious organization of which they did not approve—against which, indeed, they were in rebellion—Penn accorded religious liberty to all within his Province. Indeed he had been an ardent advocate of religious liberty for years before he undertook the establishment of a Province.

It so happened that Bishop Compton of London was a member of the Committee for Trades and Plantations before which Wm. Penn had to lay his plans for his colony, and with whom in its government he had at various times to deal. It was due to Bishop Compton that there was inserted in the charter of Pennsylvania a clause that any preacher or preachers, approved by the Bishop of London, should be allowed to reside within the Province, whenever twenty inhabitants expressed to the Bishop a desire that such should be sent. Penn's principles, if faithfully carried out, would have given them this right anyway, but the charter gave them legal standing. As we all know, it was under that clause of the charter that Christ Church was founded in 1695, and became the centre and rallying point of the Episcopalians in the colony. It thus happened that there gradually grew up a church group or church party in Pennsylvania, which was influential, as time went on, far beyond its actual numbers.

The relations of this Church group to the Friends is from many points of view an interesting one. To continue to employ Dr. Hastings terminology, the regulars (the Churchmen) were in a minority; the rebels (the Quakers) were not only in the majority, but were for many years the governing body of the colony.

The relations which existed between Quakers and Anglicans in England, were, accordingly, reversed in Pennsylvania.

I have been asked to speak today of these relations, not because I am a student of the period, or have any profound knowledge of the literature of that time. It has been thought apparently, that one who was born and reared among the Friends, who owes the beginnings and the nurture of his spiritual life to them, into whose affections and memories are entwined hundreds of sacred Quaker associations and the influence of countless Quaker lives, one who is still honored by the warm friendship of many members of the Society of Friends, would enter sympathetically into their point of view. At the same time it has, it would seem, been supposed that one who in mature life discovered the crippling effect of the

great negations by which the great Quaker affirmations are accompanied, who then deliberately sought membership in the Episcopal Church, who has found there a congenial home, undeserved kindness, devoted brethren, and an open door for service, would naturally, not be insensible to the aspirations and motives of the Episcopalians in early Pennsylvania. Such qualification as I have for the task arises, therefore, from the insight which personal experience may have given me into the principles and motives of the two groups of people.

We may conveniently consider the subject from two points of view: 1. Differences in principles and policy, and, 2. Instances of friction arising from individual cases.

1. There were certain differences of principle which led, during many of the earlier years of the colony to radical differences between the Episcopalians and the Friends. The Friends believed in non-resistance; they were willing to take no adequate means for the defense of the colony; the Churchmen took the opposite view. They believed in preparedness; they would trust in God, but keep their powder dry. Through all the years down to the decisive action by the Pennsylvania Assembly of 1756, which recognized the necessity for defense, and whose action led to the withdrawal of Friends from any very active share in the government, the lines were clearly drawn. Churchmen again and again made representations to the English authorities that the colony was defenseless and in danger; Friends, constituting a majority of the assembly continually prevented the voting of taxes for defense. As during these years the colony was not attacked, the question was by no means as acute as that arising from the Quaker determination in regard to oaths. The Friends believed that to take an oath violated a direct command of Christ. In England they had suffered much for their conscientious scruple upon this point. In founding the new colony, they determined that this stumbling block should be removed. There was, accordingly, inserted in the first "Great Law" of 1682 a clause which enacted that:

"All witnesses coming or called to testify their knowledge in or to any matter or thing in any court, or before any lawful authority within said Province, shall there give in or deliver their evidence or testimony by solemnly promising to speak the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth to the matter or thing in question." Then follow severe penalties for falsehood.

With this position the Friends would have been satisfied. Under this law members of the Society of Friends could hold office, act as magistrates, and sit on juries without either taking or administering an oath. They could avoid breaking the letter of Christ's commandment.

With this the Episcopalians were not satisfied. The taking of an oath to assure the telling of the truth is a custom which goes far back in the annals of humanity. Its beginnings are shrouded in the darkness of antiquity. It was already old when the Code of the Babylonian King, Hammurabi, was compiled, more than 2000 years B.C. To remove the security of the oath from all the solemnities connected with the administration of justice seemed to Churchmen to endanger the whole fabric of political and social life.

The leader of the Episcopalians in this matter was during the earlier years Robert Quary (or Quarry), whose name appears on a letter signed by the members of Christ Church dated January 18, 1696-7, and who had been appointed by the Crown as Judge for Penn's dominions and West Jersey. Quary was entirely out of sympathy with the Quaker ideas regarding oaths, and he and his co-religionists were suspected of desiring to secure the forfeiture of Penn's Charter, and the establishment of a crown colony in Pennsylvania, so that the Church could be legally established in the colony as it was in England. This suspicion was probably well founded, for even the good Bishop Compton had, after the Charter of Pennsylvania had been granted to Penn, endeavored to get a bill through Parliament to have the Church established here.

The Episcopalians were without strength either in the Provincial Council or Assembly, but they had sufficient in-

fluence to secure from time to time from England the issuing of commands to the Pennsylvania officials to administer oaths to such as were willing to take them, and in this way so harassed the Quaker officials that many of them resigned.

One thing that impresses a dispassionate observer of these differences from the safe distance of the 20th century, is that neither party took as lofty ground as it might have taken. The Friends failed to catch the meaning that lay back of the words of Christ: "Swear not at all"..."let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay." A full and thorough study of this part of the Sermon on the Mount shows that what our Lord was really teaching was that it is wrong for a man, and above all for a disciple of Christ, to have two standards of honor—to speak the truth any more faithfully when he has in an oath prayed God, so to speak, to damn him, if he does not speak it, than he would on ordinary occasions.* By their willingness to make a promise to speak the truth, and, after such promise to submit to legal penalties for falsehood, the Friends appeared to admit that they were still subject to the double standard of honor. By the law quoted above they proved, as indeed Robert Barclay had done in his *Apology,* that the whole point in their minds was to avoid disobeying the literal command of Christ "swear not at all." That they should be such sticklers for the literal observance of this command, when they interpreted away other commands which their fellow Christians considered vital—such as those concerning Baptism and the Eucharist—naturally seemed to their contemporaries most inconsistent. But what strikes one now as even more strange is that they did not see that the deeper principle of a double standard of honor was involved, and that, if a man had to promise to tell the truth in order that his word might be trusted, he thereby confessed the existence of the double standard just as surely as by taking an oath.

The Churchmen on the other hand, by the importance which they attached to oaths, and the fear that they exhibited

*See the writer's exposition of Matt. 5: 21-48 in the *Journal of Biblical Literature.* XXXVII, 54-65.

lest the abolition of the oath should subvert the administration of justice, and even sap the foundations of society itself, betrayed at once a characteristic reverence for whatever is hoary with age in human custom, and a profound distrust of human nature. The Psalmist declared: "I said in my haste, All men are liars." Apparently the Churchmen of early Pennsylvania said it, not in haste, but deliberately and after mature reflection.

In addition to these more general causes of difference there were some causes of friction between the Episcopalians and the Friends arising from individual cases. The most notable of these was the case of George Keith, the most learned of the Friends who had come to the New World, the Principal of their School, an eloquent and influential preacher among them, who first led a schism, then, returning to England, joining the established Church, and having been ordained, came back to America in 1702 as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Keith arrived in Philadelphia on November 5, 1702, and preached in Christ Church the following Sunday and several times afterwards when he happened to be in Philadelphia. In September, 1703, he was in Philadelphia and joined with the Rev. Evan Evans, then Rector of Christ Church, in having prayers and sermons in the Church every day during the Friends Yearly Meeting of that year. It is probable that in these meetings some pointed remarks were made against the Quakers. Already, previous to this time Keith had been the centre of a considerable bitter controversial literature. One need cite here as proof of this but one title, that of a pamphlet printed in London in the year 1700 entitled, *A Snake in the Grass Caught and Crushed, or a Third and Last Epistle to a now furious Deacon in the Church of England, Mr. George Keith, etc.*

There is evidence that these daily services in Christ Church were not held without some provocation on the part of Friends. Caleb Pusey, a Philadelphia Friend, had published in 1703 a book entitled *Proteus Ecclesiasticus, or George Keith varied in Fundamentals; acknowledged by himself to be*

such, and Proved an Apostate, from his own "Definition Arguments and Reasons." Contrary to his often repeated pretensions, whereby he hath Labored to deceive the People telling them he is not varied from any Fundamental Principle, nor any Principle of the Christian Faith, ever since he first came among the Quakers.

To this book George Keith made reply in this same year, 1703, whether before or after the September meetings, I do not know, in a work entitled: *The Spirit of "Railing-Shimei," and of Baal's 400 Lying Prophets entered into Caleb Pusey and his Quaker-Brethren in Pennsylvania who approve him. Containing an answer to his and their Book, falsely called, "Proteus Ecclesiasticus," Detecting many of their gross Falsehoods, Lyes, Calumnies, Perversions and Abuses, as well as their gross ignorance and Infidelity contained in their Book.*

These titles, as we all know, were characteristic of the religious controversy of the period. With such amenities the Christians of that time exhibited their love of truth as they saw it, if not love of their brethren.

The Friends did not, however, occupy all of the attention either of George Keith or of the Reverend Evan Evans. In this same year, 1703, they found time to issue jointly a pamphlet entitled, *Some of the many False, Scandalous, blasphemous and self-contradictory assertions of William Davis, faithfully collected out of his book, printed, anno, 1700, entitled, Jesus the Crucified Man, the Eternal Son of God, etc.*

This work was issued as a corrective to the teachings of Davis, who, apparently at first a Friend, then a Keithian Christian Quaker, had joined the Baptists, and had in 1698 been expelled from the Frankford Baptist Church for heresy with reference to the Divine and human natures of Christ. The Christians of that time by whatever name they were called had not yet learned to

> "Melt not in an acid sect
> The Christian pearl of charity."

Notwithstanding such incidents as the rival meetings of 1703, the Episcopalians and Friends, with all their differences,

had much in common. Many Friends besides Keith joined the Church. Indeed among the members of Christ Church who signed the letter to Governor Nicholson of January 18, 1696-7, was William Dyer, the son of Mary Dyer, the Quakeress, who was put to death on Boston Common in 1660, and ever afterward, in the language of the late President of Haverford College: "a constant but gentle stream of the wealthier Friends, of the sect that entirely ruled out ritual, made them (the Episcopalians) some accretions.*" This has gone on until today the Churchmen of Philadelphia are to a good degree composed of former Friends and the descendants of Friends.

From the earliest days of the colony two causes led to this, the similarity of the spirit of worship in the Church and the Quaker meeting house, and the law of antithesis. Few people seem to have reflected upon the fact that in the Episcopal Church and in the Friends meeting it is the congregation which worships. The assembled people are not an audience, come together to listen to a lecture and a concert. They do not have to disperse if no preacher is present. They worship, the one by a ritual, the other with

> "Never rag of form or creed
> To clothe the nakedness of need,"

and yet both are worshipping congregations. The spirit of worship is there. There is room for a sermon, if there happens to be a preacher, but, if not, the worship goes on, in the one case expressed through a ritual, in the other, often entirely unexpressed except through the silent adoration of worshipful hearts. This principle links the Quaker and the Churchman in a closer bond of sympathy than either of them find with other Protestants, although the bond is often unsuspected, even by themselves. When the cultured Quaker outgrows the narrower tenets of his sect, therefore, he is drawn naturally to the Church, and then the psychological law of antithesis or contrast helps him on. The operation of this law, which underlies so many of the contrasts in Hebrew

*Isaac Sharpless, Two Centuries of Pennsylvania History, Philadelphia, 1900, K196.

Christ Church Hospital, 1769-1861

poetry and of powerful diction in every language, helps the mind that has been compelled in its worship to grope in silence, to employ in happiness and content as the vehicles of devotion

"Words that have drawn transcendant meanings up
From the best passion of all bygone time."

Thus with their surface differenees, sometimes acute, but still with a deep underlying unity of spirit that was scarce suspected, the Episcopalians and Friends lived on in this colony until the approach of the Revolutionary war. Then numbers of them were by the events of the time driven into more friendly political relations than had existed before. Many of the Churchmen were loyal to the mother country; the Friends with the exception of a minority known as "Free Quakers," abhorred war, thus, both Friends and Churchmen sought to exert a restraining influence upon the rising tide of resentment that swept the American colonies into revolution, and in the effort they were drawn nearer together.

I cannot close this paper without mentioning some facts of a later period.

By way of introduction to one of them, permit me to say that in my undergraduate days at Haverford College we were told by one of our Professors that at Oxford University there is a book-case called the "Shelf Controversial" in which all works attacking the faith of the Established Church are placed and where they remain until they are answered. We were told that when the Quaker, Robert Barclay in the year 1676 published his *Apology for the True Christian Divinity, being an Explanation and Vindication of the Principles and Doctrines of the People called Quakers,* it was placed upon this shelf where it still remains unanswered. It has, in the course of the centuries, we were told, been taken down several times and studied, but had always been returned to its place without adequate rejoinder. The inference which we drew, and which we were meant to draw, was that the work is unanswerable. Our Professor was quite unaware that Bishop White, Rector of Christ Church and the first Bishop

of Pennsylvania, had written in 1810-11 *A Counter Apology for the Divinity of the Holy Scriptures in a Review of the "Apology" of Robert Barclay on the Same Subject*, a work which has never been published, which at the present moment reposes in the archives of this Church, but which, had it been published, would undoubtedly have dislodged Barclay's *Apology* from the "Shelf Controversial" forever.

I have been able to examine Bishop White's work only in the most superficial manner, but even such an examination reveals at once the Christian spirit and the intellectual acuteness, as well as the thoroughness of scholarship with which the reply is conducted. Bishop White's writing is in striking contrast to the controversial pamphlets of a century before, in which abusive epithet often took the place of argument. Every important step of Barclay's argument is squarely met with serious counter arguments, stated with all the restraint which should be exhibited by a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian. Bishop White's manuscript is about twice the size of Barclay's *Apology*, so thoroughly did he do his work. It is equipped with appendices, an index of Scripture passages, and whatever was necessary to make it useful. He also prepared an Abstract of the "Counter-Apology" entitled *Hints for the Use of Students in Divinity in their Reading of Robert Barclay's Apology*. Bishop White remarks that he "does not purpose to instill prejudices in so serious an undertaking." He would "have one receive or reject his (Barclay's) theory as truth may direct." He prays for divine aid in conducting the inquiry.

One is tempted to give quotations to illustrate the acuteness and good temper with which Bishop White dissected Barclay's arguments, but such quotations would mean little unless one could presuppose that every one here was thoroughly familiar with the various propositions of Barclay's work. It is sufficient to say that the Bishop was as ingenious as Barclay in his use of Scripture, and was unusually keen in directing the shafts of his logic to the fallacies in Barclay's premises or syllogisms. From the point of view of a hundred years ago—

the days prior to higher criticism, evolution, and comparative religion, the *Counter Apology* is a formidable argument. It was Bishop White's *Magnum Opus.*

In a note added in 1833 Bishop White alludes to the doubt as to whether his work would ever be published and says:

"Whether it will ever be published is uncertain, but I believe it would tend to the upholding of the truths of our holy religion by showing the danger of a theory, which, by affirming an imaginary light of nature under an imposing but misapplied name, leads to Deism, and 2d, by distinguishing between Christian duty and requisitions foreign to it, representing them to young persons especially as equally obligatory, thus prepares their ripening understandings for an equal disregard of both."

Bishop White in these words called attention to the unreality of the Quaker distinction between natural ideas, and divinely implanted ideas. It was this theory of divinely implanted ideas which led the Friends to speak so often of the "Divine Seed" in every man.

The unreality of Barclay's distinction on this point appears now in much clearer perspective than it did a century ago. It has been pointed out by Quaker scholars within recent years that Robert Barclay wrote under the spell of the philosophy of Descartes, who taught that man is given certain innate Divine ideas by his Creator—ideas which, though apparently inborn in man, are no more related to the man's human nature than a cartridge is related to a gun. They were put there by One who is as superior to the soul as a man is to a gun, and they belong to Him. This Cartesian psychology is now as fully exploded as the Ptolemaic astronomy. No such distinction as Barclay premised between the ideas of the mind is discernible. Divine influence has to be looked for in ethical and spiritual quality, and grounded on other evidence. Even the institutions based upon Barclay's theory have vanished from the greater part of the Society of Friends. Where, as in Philadelphia, they are still cherished, one now seldom finds a defense of them based upon this distinction which Bishop White combatted.

The Schism which took place in Quakerism in 1827-28, generally know as the "Hicksite Separation" greatly weakened the Friends, who have since that time been in Pennsylvania a diminishing body. Although Bishop White's *Counter Apology* was never published, other forces were at work which have exerted upon the Friends even a more powerful influence than his book could have done.

The century from Bishop White to us has in many ways brought changes as great as the century between George Keith and Bishop White. While on the surface there are the same striking contrasts in organization and worship among Episcopalians and Friends, the rise of modern science, its application to the sacred books in the form of historical criticism, to the human mind in psychology, and to the religious life of man in the study of the History of Religions, has for all thoughtful men put the whole problem of the religious life in new perspective. We are not so sure as we were a hundred years ago that the secret of the universe can be compressed into the capsule of a Biblical text or two, or completely expressed in its entirety by a creed. We are slowly coming to appreciate the underlying kinship of all religious life, whatever its manifestation; we are gradually learning that we should call no man "common or unclean" whom God has honored with the gift of His Holy Spirit. It is becoming clearer and clearer that the Friends, like other sects which left the main body of Christians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have taken too narrow a view of Divine revelation. God revealed himself pre-eminently to the Hebrew prophets and Christian Apostles; he manifested himself perfectly in our Lord; but among the nations of the world "He hath not left himself without a witness." Institutions and methods of worship should not therefore, necessarily be discarded because they are of what has been often called "heathen" origin. Even outside of Israel there were many ways of worship which were efficacious in bringing God near to men. Some of these the Church adopted and they have been blessed by the Spirit of God. Interpreting Divine inspiration too narrowly, the Friends re-

garded all between the Apostolic Age and George Fox as a great apostacy. Their very doctrine of a universal and saving light might, if it had been logically applied, have led to a different conclusion. The truth, as it appears today to thoughtful educated minds, certainly leads to a different conception. Forms of worship and means of grace are to be judged, not by whether their beginnings can be traced back to Jew or Greek, but by their power to submit themselves to transfiguring interpretations and their value in the nurture of the common religious life by the way they open the human soul to the thought, the purposes, and to the Spirit of God.

Many Christians are slowly coming to see this. It is leading toward that unity for which we all long. It found expression last summer in that noble utterance of the Lambeth Conference, which, by recognizing that the workings of the Spirit of God are not necessarily confined to the channels of our Ecclesiastical organization, makes it possible for other Protestant bodies to look toward an ultimate association with us in the historic Church without denying the validity of their past history or the reality of their past Christian life.

The position of the Friends today is very different from that which they occupied when Bishop White wrote his *Counter Apology*. They have been weakened by several schisms and have suffered sadly from other causes. Barclay linked the interpretation of Quakerism so closely with the philosophy of the seventeenth century, that, although it for a time made an appeal so powerful that Friends could hope to become the dominant body in Protestantism, the changed thought of the world has wrought havoc with their theology and their membership. In the lapse of time, too, experience has shown that its unorganized ministry was inefficient. Touched in the decade between 1870-80 by the revival movement led by Moody, Friends gradually, in most of their American centres, have found it necessary, if they would hold any membership at all, to have regular preaching, employ regular pastors, and become in the outward manifestations of their life almost indistinguishable from some Methodists. Choirs and

organs have in some meetings been introduced. Today in all the world there are but about 100,000 or 110,000 Friends. These are so divided that there are but three things on which they all agree: the disuse of the rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the disuse of oaths, and the maintenance of the Quaker testimony against war. Their divided condition, their lack of agreement as to what is vital, the way in which they are, by the thought of the time, compelled to build anew their intellectual defenses, their difficulty in holding their membership to whom their forms of worship, even when modified, often do not appeal, render them impotent as logical antagonists, and place them in a position to excite sympathy rather than hostility.

God is leading all Christian bodies into deeper sympathy with one another as he leads us into a land of broader intellectual and spiritual horizons. He is leading us into a deeper Christian life, a deeper sense of the essential oneness of all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

Ultimately, it may be hoped, that this movement, if we are at once Christian and patient, will go far enough to include the Friends in that truly Catholic Church toward which we look. If only, without losing their strong sense of immediate access to God, they could see that the use of certain outward means of grace which they have discarded, so far from being hurtful to the Christian life, are of the greatest help to most people—that it is hardly to be expected that an uneducated religious genius like George Fox, however great his genius might be, could lay down for all men for all time a way of worship and of ecclesiastical organization superior to any which had been discovered by the experience of all the saints and sages who had gone before—and could join with us in the use of those outward means, they have much of spiritual value to contribute to the common life of the united Church. Is it too much to hope that the growth in mutual understanding which the past two centuries has witnessed will go steadily forward until all who have separated from the historic Church will once more join the regular army, itself

grown wiser and more Christlike, and will realize that, "God has provided some better thing concerning us that they apart from us should not be made perfect?"

New Light on Our Origins

By Bishop Garland

THE preceding papers give a proper introduction and background to my address. I desire first to recall the fact that just at the time of the founding of Christ Church there existed a great division between the Keithian and Foxian Quakers, which took place in Philadelphia in 1691. In that year there were fifteen Missions of Keithian Quakers in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. This division among the Quakers must be borne in mind when one reads of accounts and letters written by either Friends or Churchmen in that early period. Many of these letters give evidence of bitter feelings at times—not only between Friends and Churchmen, but even between Friend and Friend—and due allowance for this state of feeling must be made on both sides. Nearly all of the Quakers had been brought up in the Church of England, and having left the mother country for the express purpose of getting away from an Established Church, we can understand their natural objection to the introduction of the Church here. At the same time as the Friends professed to believe in liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, the Churchmen desired his rights, and also had a natural feeling of antagonism to those who had withdrawn from the communion of the Church. With the great divisions among the Quakers in this period, and the baptism of hundreds who returned to the Church of their fathers, similar feeling on the part of the Friends is given expression in many unfriendly utterances; but looking back we can thank God for the noble contribution made by both parties, and by all other Christian people in this formative period. Had this colony remained one of Friends only, it could not have taken a leading part

in the Revolution, and all the other elements combined together to make Pennsylvania the Keystone State.

The Royal Grant of William Penn provided "That if any of the inhabitants of the said Province (to the number of twenty), shall at any time hereafter be desirous, and shall by any writing, or by any person deputed for them, signify such their desire to the Bishop of London for the time being, that any preacher or preachers to be approved of by the said Bishop may be sent unto them for their instruction, and then such Preacher or Preachers shall and may be, and reside within the said Province without any denial or molestation whatsoever." The question arises whether such a petition signed by twenty or more inhabitants was ever forwarded to London. It seems to be taken for granted by some writers that it was. There *is no doubt that one was prepared,* but when we investigate the history of the case we find that it was not only a petition for the free exercise of religion, but also that the petitioners might arm for their defense, as they had reason to believe that the French intended to attack them. The Quaker Magistrate arrested those who originated the petition, and ordered the King's attorney, who was a Quaker, to read the law they had made against any person that should speak against the Quaker government. The lawyer who was suspected of having drafted the petition was taken into custody and bound over to court. It is interesting to note that this lawyer, Griffith Jones, about seven or eight years later was elected Mayor of the City, which shows the great advance of the cause of the Church party. After this first attempt, a petition was again prepared by the Church of England people, congratulating the King on his escape from assassination. This was taken to Governor Markham and he approved of it and signed it, but some of the Quakers evidently thought that it would make known to the King how many Church of England people were in the Colony, so the Governor asked for the petition, pretending he wanted to see it. However, he kept it and would not part from it, so it is evident that this *second* petition never reached the King. It is well to emphasize that

In Memory
of
The Earliest Consecrated
Bishop
In America
RICHARD WELTON D.D.
Sometime Rector of Whitechapel
LONDON
Consecrated Bishop in the
Nonjuring Succession
1722
Incumbent of this Parish
1724—1726
Died in Lisbon, Portugal
1728

On West Wall

the first petition that is so frequently mentioned combined two pleas—first, the free exercise of religion, and second, the right to bear arms. We can well understand the peculiar objection that the Friends would have to this second plea in the petition as it was opposed to all their principles.

Reference will be made by another speaker to the interest of the Governor of Maryland in the founding of a church in Philadelphia. Governor Nicholson helped materially in building the first Christ Church and without the knowledge of the people of Philadelphia, he had made an appeal to his Majesty and Council for the settlement of a Ministry in Philadelphia, and the support of a school. During this summer I made a search in London to see if I could find any evidence that the petition signed by twenty or more members of the Church in Philadelphia had ever been formally presented to the Bishop of London, the Archbishop, or the King and Council. A diligent search at Fulham Palace showed that there is absolutely no record of this petition in the Pennsylvania papers in the archives there, and the Library at Lambeth Palace can throw no light on it. With expert assistance I searched through the records of the Arundel, Harleian and Livingstone collections in the British Museum; read the yearly Minutes on the Society of Friends in London during that period, and with the help of the Secretary of the Public Record office in Chancery Lane made a search through the State papers, including the correspondence of the Board of Trade and the Colonial acts of the privy Council. In addition to this I consulted with authorities having charge of the documents in the Library in the House of Lords and had a search made in the Rolls office, the Registry Office and among the State papers. My conclusion is that if the Petition was actually sent to London, it was destroyed in the great fire in Whitehall. As I have not found any reference to it, it is, in my opinion the more reasonable assumption that no formal petition reached England, but that through the recommendation of the Governor of Maryland, action was taken. In the Minutes of the Journal of Trade and Plantations, I find that on the 5th of November, 1695, con-

sideration was given to a letter sent by the Lord's Commissioner of Treasure, upon Sir Thomas Lawrence's memorial, relating to a Minister from Pennsylvania (see addenda). A further research of the Minutes showed that the request was for one or two Protestant Divines to be sent to Philadelphia, and the Memorial was sent by Sir Thomas Lawrence, Secretary of Maryland, under Governor Nicholson. On the 19th day of December, 1695, at a meeting of the King's Council, it was ordered that a salary of 50 pounds per annum be settled on a Protestant Divine, and a salary of 30 pounds on a school master to be sent into the Colony of Pennsylvania, as recommended by the Lord Bishop of London, and Right Honorable Lord's Commissioners of the Treasure. I found many letters from Governor Nicholson manifesting his great interest in the welfare of the Church in Pennsylvania.

While examining the historical records in Fulham Palace I came across other interesting papers. One was rather startled to find in the papers of the 17th and 18th centuries, a letter from a prominent writer in this country inquiring about historical articles I had written for the *Church Standard* and *The Churchman* nearly fifteen years ago. He desired evidence whether some statement I had made regarding the recognition of the Orders of Swedish Ministers could be definitely proven. The record does not show that they could give him any information from the Archives in Fulham Palace, but in a history written after that date he incorporated some of the information in these published articles and additional facts given to him in answer to direct queries. But there is much interesting history yet to be written about Records in Fulham—in the S. P. G. collection and elsewhere—showing the close relation between our Church and the Swedish Lutheran. We find the names of Rudman, Sandel, Lidman, Hesselius, Lidenius, Riorck and many others taking services in our Churches, having charge of them for long periods of time, some of them receiving honoraria from the S. P. G. They even signed petitions with our own Clergy, some of which

began: "We the Clergy of the Church of England in Pennsylvania."

In 1711 when Christ Church was being rebuilt, the congregation worshipped for three successive Sundays in *Gloria Dei*. Again in 1722, we find Swedish Clergymen signing a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury recommending William Skinner for ordination. For many years I have expressed the conviction that in the infant Colony of Pennsylvania, and in the work of the S. P. G. the ordination of Swedish Clergymen was looked upon as valid. We are all glad to note that this conclusion has been formally accepted by the Lambeth Conference in 1920.

There is also evidence that the German Lutherans in the 18th century proposed a union with the Church of England. There is a petition in Fulham Palace from the representatives of the High German Church, called St. George's in the City of Philadelphia to be taken under the care of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, date October 27, 1764, signed by twenty-one names, transmitted by William Smith with his endorsement. What a pity such an effort was not brought to a successful consummation.

After this brief reference to the original petition for the founding of the Church, and the data through which I have searched, I would like to say a few words regarding the early history of the Church in this Colony. The founding of Christ Church had a far reaching influence on the life of the City and Commonwealth, and Nation. Founded in 1695, after the struggle for its rights, there were five churches in the Colony in 1702. Within a few years from the date of its founding, its members became prominent in civic and state life, as Mayors of the City, and Governors. It is easy to trace the influence of Christ Church in education. It is true that the Friends already had their school, but the establishment of a school under Church auspices was destined to have a great effect. Without underrating the influence of Presbyterians, Friends, and others, in the founding of the college of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania), every-

one concedes that the two outstanding names in the founding of that institution were Benjamin Franklin and the Rev. Dr. Smith. Though Franklin has been given more credit, yet it was the ideals of Dr. Smith that prevailed and laid the foundation for a real University.

It may also be said that the Sunday School movement originated in this parish, and that it was a Minister of Christ Church, in the middle of the 18th century, who first secured a Missionary to work among the negroes in the Colony. Fifty years later in this Church permission was given for the ordination of Absalom Jones, and he became the first ordained negro clergyman in the United States.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the influence of Christ Church in our national life. A registry of the men in this Commonwealth who had a leading part in the Revolution, would show that a large majority of them were members of this congregation; and the roll call of the members of the Continental Congress, and the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, would show that two-thirds of them worshipped in this sacred edifice. In 1774 the Rector of Christ Church, Dr. Duché, offered the first prayer in the Continental Congress in Carpenter's Hall. On July 7th he preached his famous sermon: "The duty of standing fast in our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties." Dr. Smith had preached twelve days before on "The Present Situation in American Affairs." These sermons were widely read and also widely censured. On July 2, 1775, Continental Congress assembled in Christ Church to observe the day set apart by them as "a day of general humiliation, fasting and prayer," through all the American Provinces. May 17, 1776, was also so observed, and on the memorable day of July 4, 1776, the signing of the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, as simultaneously with the old Liberty Bell, the chimes of old Christ Church pealed forth, proclaiming liberty to all the land. On that historic day the Vestry met and requested the Rectors and Assistant Ministers to "Omit those petitions in the Liturgy

wherein the King of Great Britain was prayed for, as inconsistent with the said Declaration."

It would be presumptuous to attempt to add anything to the critical and complete historical papers that have been published about Christ Church after the Revolution; but a short résumé of early meetings of the General Convention might well be included in this paper. We may recall that in Christ Church, the first Convention of the Diocese of Pennsylvania was held in 1784, and the first General Convention in 1785, when the Fundamental Articles were adopted; and in 1786, when the Constitution was adopted. The General Convention again met in 1789 in Christ Church, July 29th to August 8th, and at this session an address was adopted congratulating the President of the United States on his election as Chief Magistrate, and this address with President Washington's answer, thanking the Convention for its affectionate greeting, appear in the Minutes. The Convention adjourned to September 29th in order to meet Bishop Seabury and delegates from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, for the purpose of settling Articles of Union. Convening on September 29th in Christ Church, the Convention adjourned two days later to the State House, the minutes stating: "the meeting in Christ Church being found inconvenient to members in several respects." This raises the question why did the Convention adjourn to meet in the State House? Was it because that building offered a freer opportunity for discussion, or that it was more neutral ground on which the union between Bishop Seabury and his New England delegates might be effected? I incline to the latter opinion. Formerly Conventions had been held in Christ Church quite satisfactorily, and not found in any way inconvenient. The interesting thing, however, about this Convention is the fact that sessions were held in Christ Church and the State House, and the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Penna.). In Christ Church Bishop Seabury was present, and deputies from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut presented the testimonials of their appointment to confer with the

Convention. It was in the State House, however, that (after the change in one Article) the Constitution was ratified. The union of the Church in the Colonies was completed in the same room in which the Declaration of Independence had been signed, and the Constitution of our Nation adopted. Francis Hopkinson was Secretary of this Convention. It will be remembered that he was also Secretary of the Continental Congress which met in Carpenter's Hall.

In the College of Philadelphia the Prayer Book was also revised and the Constitution was formally signed after it was copied in the Book of Records, so that the Church, the State and the University were all associated together in the union of our Church, the adoption of our Constitution, and the changes made in the Prayer Book.

It may be truly said that Christ Church had a tremendous influence on the life of the nation, as it helped to mold the character of so many of the great men who took part in that struggle for liberty. The Colony of Pennsylvania would indeed have been poorer if our forefathers had not insisted on their rights, and thus prepared this Colony to make such a contribution to the founding of our Republic.

Addenda

At the Committee of Trade and Plantations.
At the Council Chamber at Whitehall.
Monday the fifth of November, 1695.

Pensilvania. A letter from Mr. Lowndes dated the 23d of this month by order of the Lord's Commissioners of the Treasury upon Sir Thomas Lawrence's Memorial relating to a Minister for Pensilvania recd; Representing the opinion of the Lords of the Treasure that what encouragement his Majesty shall please to give to Protestant Divines to be sent thither, will be better done by granting a salary out of the Revenue of the peny pound in y. Province than to grant the Revenue itself. Whereupon their Lordships agree to report this matter especially to his Majesty in councill.

From Governor Nicholson's correspondence it is certain that the first Minister appointed to the Church in Philadelphia died before the fleet left England, and in the emergency Mr. John Arrowsmith, a schoolmaster in Doctors orders, was sent. The latter read service as a Lay Minister and acted as schoolmaster until an ordained Minister was sent.

Old Christ Church

What sacred thoughts with radiance crown thy glories of the past—
Through ages gone and evermore—as long as time shall last—
They breathe of high and holy aims in Nation, State and Home;
With pride the Church and 'Varsity both claim thee as their own.
As here the patriots blended love for country and for God,
So may their children ever tread the path our fathers trod;
Upon their sure foundation, laid to train each new born race
Today with like undaunted faith we sons our future face.
Hail rock from whence we all were hewn—here at thy shrine we meet—
"Old Christ Church"—mother of us all—thy natal day we greet.

Bishop Garland

Nov. 15, 1920

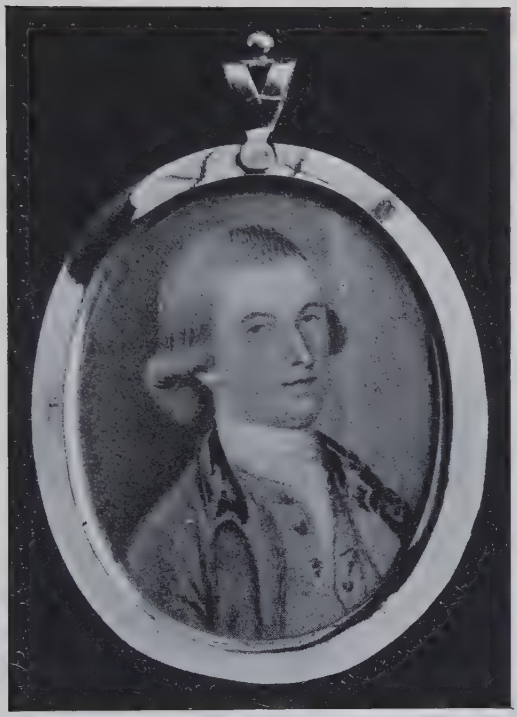
Pennsylvania's Contribution to the Constitutional System of the Protestant Episcopal Church

By Rev. Prof. Jos. Cullen Ayer, PH.D.

IN THE recent Lambeth Conference of 1920 a large committee considered the matter of the Development of Provinces in the Anglican Communion. From the Report of the Committee it appears that no less than thirty-one dioceses have been established in various parts of the world which are not yet included in any sort of provincial organization. In their report the committee suggests plans for the union of these dioceses. It believes that by some sort of provincial union the life and work of these dioceses would be greatly stimulated. The Committee suggests that the bishops associate themselves as synods but adds most significantly, "It is advisable in any newly constituted Provincial Synod for the Bishops to associate with them the clergy and laity of the Province as soon as may be." 1. The resolution actually adopted by the Conference made the resolution presented by the committee stronger by advising that the association of the clergy and laity with the Bishops be official. 2. They were not to be merely advisory in the action; they were to be a constituent part of the provincial constitution. Details as to how this was to be effected were left, of course, to the National, or Regional Church or Province.

In the Hulsean Lectures on "The Ecclesiastical Expansion of England," (London, 1895), Bishop Barry, once Bishop of Sidney and Primate of Australia and Tasmania, in speaking of the synodical system of government of the daughter Churches of the Anglican Communion, refers (p. 96) to the fact that "in that system there is one leading feature above all, which is absolutely universal in all the daughter Churches

1. (Ref. on p. 79, S. P. C. K. edition, London, 1920)
2. (Resolution 43f)



William White in 1771
Miniature by Charles Wilson Peale
Loaned by Professor James A. Montgomery

of the Anglican Communion, I mean the resolute co-ordination of the laity with the clergy, under the constitutional presidency of the Episcopate in the government of the Church in all its phases." Again, further on in the same lecture, (p. 99), he says "Believing as I have always believed, and as now after experience I believe more than ever, that under any contingency, whether of Establishment or of Disestablishment, this representative government of the whole body is the one thing most needful for the vigorous internal life of the Church itself and for its rightful influence over the public mind, I cannot but hold that here the experience of the Colonial Church is of priceless value."

What the Lambeth Conference advises as a principle of constitutional organization, what the late primate of Australia and Tasmania testifies to from his own experience and urges as the one thing most needful for the vigorous internal life of the Church, the Church in the Diocese of Pennsylvania first contributed to the constitutional principles upon which the Protestant Episcopal Church was organized and which the other daughter Churches of the Anglican Communion have adopted. That principle is the co-ordination of the laity and clergy under the constitutional presidency of the Episcopate. It was William White, Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, who first clearly enunciated it. It was he who put it into such workable form that he induced the Churches in the various states to accept it.

Bishop White's first statement of the principle of the co-ordination of the laity and clergy is first found in his famous pamphlet, "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered," published in Philadelphia, 1783.* In Chapter II he states two points in which he thinks it will be necessary to deviate from English custom. The first was "by convening the clergy and laity in one body," the second was "by providing that the power of electing a superior order of ministers ought to be in the clergy and

*Perry's Reprint of the Journals of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Claremont, 1874. Vol. III. 419ff.

laity together." In American practice these two points are reduced to one, the co-ordination of the laity and the clergy in the administration of the Church under the constitutional presidency of the Bishop. Let us consider quite briefly the second of these two points of deviation, the election of Bishops by clergy and laity together. In England, as is well known, the Bishops are appointed by the Crown. There is, indeed, a form of election, little better than a farce, held by the cathedral chapter composed of clergy, every one being obliged under very heavy penalty to vote for the person named in the letter missive from the Crown, which accompanied the *congé d'elire,* under which they were permitted to act. Yet Magna Carta says in its first clause *Anglicana Ecclesia libera sit,* and the freedom of election is mentioned as the one liberty as especially important. It is not clear that Bishop White recognized the constant violations of the Charter from the very first, nor did he reflect upon the ridiculous continuation of forms which implied freedom, as the absurd confirmation of Episcopal elections in the Arches Court, when objections are invited as if there could be any objection made, and when they are attempted they are refused hearing. What lay behind Bishop White's thought was neither a clear appreciation of the actual situation in England nor an attempt to reproduce what might be thought to be the constitution of the early Church. What he was introducing was the outcome of conditions in America and in America for the first time in the Anglican Communion, and it was a practical, statesmanlike solution of a real problem.

In the development of the Episcopal Church in this diocese is to be found the origin of his thought. In the countries of Western Europe in which Christianity was last introduced, the diocese was prior to the parish. It was the district of considerable extent in which the Bishop was the chief missionary. Such was the case in England and Germany where the dioceses are often very large. In France, converted earlier and with better political organization, the diocese was the relatively small district in which the city was the ancient

administrative center, and the Bishop was the pastor of the one big Church of the city. In both cases the parishes were organized sections of a diocese already existing under the immediate oversight of the Bishop. The clergy only slowly ceased to be connected with the cathedral church or to have any independence in the matter of financial support. In the American Colonies the parishes came before the diocese; furthermore they were organized by laymen. These laymen called a minister or requested that one be sent them. It was thus that Christ Church was organized. According to the Charter granted William Penn, if twenty inhabitants should request the services of a clergyman of the Church of England he should be allowed to live among them unmolested and in 1695 the petition was presented for such services. The result, the founding of Christ Church, we are commemorating today. Much the same organization of laymen for services may be found in the beginnings of the other Churches in the vicinity of Philadelphia. Here as elsewhere the Church grew up with little or no Episcopal oversight. The Bishop of London so often spoken of as the ordinary of the Colonial Churches, exercised hardly more than a nominal jurisdiction. His function was hardly more than licensing clergymen to officiate. It can be easily seen that it would have been impossible to bring about any organization of the Churches into a diocese without the clear recognition of the lay element in the Church. And that recognition in unmistakable fashion is Bishop White's great contribution to ecclesiastical polity.

If Bishop White was induced by practical considerations to advocate the co-ordination of the clergy and the laity in the councils of the Church, he did not base his argument for it upon mere expediency. He would have been a singular churchman if he had not appealed to precedent. In the "Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered," he alludes to what he considers a feature of the English Constitutional system: "In the parent Church, he says, though whatever regards religion may be enacted by the clergy in Convocation, it must afterwards have the sanc-

tion of all other orders of men comprehended in Parliament." He also quotes Hooker as to the desirability of parliamentary limitation of the powers of the clergy in Convocation. (Perry, III, 423.) It would therefore appear from this and other passages that in the mind of Bishop White the introduction of the lay element into the organization of the Church was merely to furnish the equivalent of parliamentary sanction and control. Let us therefore turn to the situation in England that we may appreciate the actual novelty of Bishop White's proposals. Cautious man as he was, desirous of building upon precedents, he actually introduced something very different from the English system, different from any previous system, and involving a new conception of the Church's constitution.

The characteristic features of the Post-Reformation constitution of the Church of England are derived from the legislation of Henry VIII. His theory of the relation of the laity to the clergy in the matter of ecclesiastical legislation is not wholly consistent. Its leading feature, as embodied in the Submission of the Clergy* seems to have been an ecclesiastical legislative body, the two Convocations, acting under the very strict control of the King as the Head of the Church. This body, in practice it was the Southern Convocation that was chiefly considered, should look after religious matters. Secular matters would naturally fall to the Province of Parliament, over which the King stood as the head of the State. Under the Tudor absolutism this looked well on paper. There was, however, another constitutional principle in the Henrician system which brought confusion into the plan stated and led to the constant usurpation by the lay element of sole right of ecclesiastical legislation. Under the Tudors this usurpation of the laity was with the connivance and even at the instigation of the Crown; under the Stuarts and Hanoverians it became a settled constitutional principle. According to the Submission of the Clergy, the laws of the Church

*Gee and Hardy, Documents illustrative of English Church History, London, 1896, p. 176f and 195-200.

must never contravene any law of the State, *i. e.* law of Parliament. If it happened that they should, the canon however venerable was rendered *ipso facto* null and void. In other words, the two legislative bodies, the ecclesiastical and the secular, the clerical and the lay, were after all not co-ordinate. Parliament, representing only two estates, Lords and Commons, was supreme. The presence of the Bishops in the House of Lords does not enter into the present question. The law of Parliament could always set aside the canons of Convocation, which was historically the only representation of the spirituality, which alone taxed the clergy and for which alone the clergy voted. Under such circumstances Convocation was impotent. It was by Parliament, not by Convocation, by the laity, not by the clergy, that things were really done. Convocation, such as it was, was constantly threatened with a speedy end, and would probably have ceased to exist but for the cringing servility and abjectness of the leaders of the clergy from Cranmer down. Only once in the Reformation period did Convocation take any really independent action and that was when Elizabeth, in the first year of her reign, forced the Reformation upon the Church. Convocation, almost to a man, refused to accept parliamentary dictation in matters of religion. These men paid dearly for their lack of proper servility. They were driven from their sees and so from further participation in Convocation. No doubt it was for the best that the Reformation was carried through, but it was by Parliament not by Convocation. The fact remains that the English system was very different from co-ordination of laity and clergy.

The absolute authority of the lay element in the Church of England over the clerical element, when it comes to actual authority, one can thankfully say is not at all what Bishop White introduced. His idea, the peculiar constitutional principle of the American ecclesiastical system, is that the laity and clergy should have equal shares in the government of the Church. They should meet and deliberate as one body, yet vote as two distinct bodies, or by orders as we now say, and any legislation must be adopted by both orders. Bishop

White's appeals to English precedent may be sufficient to establish the point that the laity should have a part in the legislation of the Church, but they quite fail to support the principle of co-ordination, which implies that the clergy can negative the action of the laity and *vice versa*. It was nothing less than this that Bishop White introduced.

Let us examine the matter with still more detail that the novelty and at the same time the wisdom of Bishop White's proposals may be quite clear.

The ecclesiastical legislation of the Church of England is, from the point of view of canon law, to say the least extraordinary. According to the medieval system the ecclesiastical synods, in England the convocations, which had become identical with synods, legislated for the Church. They were like other provincial synods in the Western Church. They had a very limited competence, but they did enact some canons and where they were not clearly within their competence they were nearly always restatements of what was law and needed to be called to the attention of the local Church. The Church included both clergy and laity, but canons binding both were passed in the convocations. As a matter of fact the amount of legislation that was enacted was very small. Almost every conceivable question had been settled by the decretal system, the *jus commune* of the Western Church. Such a little matter as facts in the case did not stand in the way of a Tudor King when he attempted in a preamble of a statute to discredit that decretal law. It was binding and because it was binding he set about establishing an independent jurisdiction to settle his divorce case without appeal according to that law, for that was the real nature of the breach with Rome. Now it would appear reasonable that the laws and canons of Convocation should continue to bind the whole Church, the laity as well as the clergy as they always had bound it. Certainly this ought to be the case when those canons were passed in strict conformity with the Submission of the Clergy. What are the legal facts? The canons of 1604 were passed in strict conformity with the Submission of the Clergy. They received the royal assent, or rati-

The Cathedra

fication, in due form as the printed copies of the canons testify. Although the canons were not passed by the Convocation of York for more than a year, they were ordered by the King to be put in force in both provinces. The Convocation of York was still a small affair and might easily be neglected; this little irregularity was never urged against the canons.

These canons of 1604 were the only strictly lawful canons enacted in the Church of England since the Reformation. Some trivial changes were made in a few of them, and marriages may now be solemnized as late as three in the afternoon. They therefore remain the canons of the Church of England. Now what, one may ask, is the actual standing of these canons in law? They do not bind the laity because the laity were not concerned in their passage. In the language of Lord Chief Justice Hardwicke, in 1737 (*Middleton vs. Croft,* Strange's Rep. 1056, 2 Atkyn's Rep. 650), "No new law can be made to bind the whole people of this land but by the King with the advice and consent of both houses of Parliament, and by their united authority. Neither the King alone, nor the King with the concurrence of any particular number or order of men hath this power * * * But in canons made in Convocation and confirmed by the Crown only * * * there is no intervention of the peers of the realm nor any representation of the commons." Accordingly such canons, so far as they are not restatements of the ancient canon law do not bind the laity though they may bind the clergy. If these canons had been ratified by parliament (though it might be recalled that the Submission of the Clergy called for nothing of the sort) they would have bound the laity as well as the clergy. It was Lord Hardwicke's opinion that the legislative function of Convocation consisted merely in propounding laws which Parliament might or might not make effective by its action. This is today the soundest English law, quite undisputed.

It was evidently Lord Hardwicke's decision of 1737 which Bishop White had in mind when, in his case of the Episcopal Churches, he writes: "In the parent Church, though whatever regards religion may be enacted by the clergy in convocation,

it must afterwards have the sanction of all other orders of men comprehended in Parliament.*'' But without enlarging upon the fact that such had not taken place, it is sufficient to note that he does not seem to be aware that what he was propounding was something entirely different, for it included ideas that, as applying to England, might have read, to paraphrase his language somewhat, ''Though whatever regards religion may be enacted by the laity in Parliament, it must afterwards have the sanction of the order of the clergy in Convocation,'' than which nothing is more preposterous and false in English law. I put it in this form that the novelty of White's idea may come out more clearly. That there is any such need of consulting Convocation, or obtaining confirmation of Convocation for laws of Parliament regarding religion, as some heated imaginations picture, is simply not a part of the English ecclesiastical constitution.

Two points suggest themselves at this juncture to which I can only briefly allude; the Bishops in the House of Lords, and the ancient councils of England, especially those in Anglo-Saxon times. In regards to the Bishops in the House of Lords, it is clear that they do not represent the Church in any representative legislative capacity, although they seem to sit in their spiritual capacity as well as in virtue of their baronies, as did the greater abbots until they were slain by Henry VIII. When before 1664 Parliament taxed only the laity and Convocation alone taxed the clergy, the bishops were in Parliament. They do represent to some degree the mind of the Church in Legislation, but that is another matter. Before 1664 the clergy were represented in Convocation and in Convocation only and therefore did not have the right to vote for members of Parliament as they were otherwise represented, viz. in Convocation. To this day they may not have a seat in Parliament unless they renounce their orders, a recent provision. As to the Councils of the Anglo-Saxon Church, to which reference is often made, they might seem to furnish an important precedent for lay co-operation, and they are referred to by Lord Hardwicke in

*Perry's Reprints, III.

his great decision. Apart, however, from two councils in the VIIth century under Archbishop Theodore, I cannot find, after examining the acts of every council, that they were any such ecclesiastical assemblies as to furnish any precedent. They were practically Witenagemots and, apart from remoteness of time and utter change in circumstances, have no proper bearing upon modern circumstances. There may be points in dispute about them, but there can be no dispute about the fact that there was in them no idea of the co-ordination of clergy and laity. Kings legislated for the Church with the utmost freedom. Ecclesiastical councils as such ceased to exist. They were restored, or perhaps inaugurated, by the Normans.

Let us now look further than England, to the theory of the Medieval Church, as to the relation of the two orders, clergy and laity, in matters of legislation. That theory as developed in the legislation of the Church everywhere underlies the ecclesiastical claim that canons of Convocation bind the Church because Convocation is the Church acting through its constituted legislature. The medieval theory is very simple. To put it epigrammatically, the shepherd leads the flock, he neither shares the leadership with the flock, nor commits the duty to the flock, or to any part of it. The authority to teach and govern belongs to the clerical order. Although in a certain sense the Church may be regarded as a democracy, there is no sense in which the Church's governmental system is a democracy. The laity are by divine appointment subject to the clergy. It is for this reason that a Bishop, under certain limitations, issues laws or canons for his diocese, and the diocesan synod, in which he publishes these canons, does not enact them but receives them. Likewise, the archbishop in the Province, under certain limitations, and with the advice of his suffragans, publishes constitutions and canons. The same principle applies to the pope and general council. The canons derive their force from his approval. As a fact, the medieval general councils, before Constance, were little more than great spectacular displays of pontifical authority. There was little, in most cases, no deliberation. The council received the proposals

of the pope with acclamation. This is evidently the idea of Convocation in Henry VIII's theory of the government of the Church of England after his breach with Rome. He was to take the head of the Church as a fact, play the part of pope and Convocation would act under his direction as safely as general councils acted under the pope's. There is nothing in this to suggest William White's theory. Nothing could be more opposed to it.

Let us look further back, back of this medieval or Catholic theory, for if there was any theory universally accepted it was the medieval theory. There were the customs of the early Church. In the ancient councils the Bishops alone had any part. Those Bishops, although diocesan, were in great part little more than what would be regarded as rectors of churches. Presbyters rarely had any independence until the sixth or seventh centuries. In most places they were not more influential than the deacons, and in many places of much less actual consequence. It was the archdeacon, then an actual deacon, who commonly became the new Bishop. Under these circumstances, it was the Bishop that composed the synod, not the representatives of the clergy, still less the representatives of the laity. There is no precedent to be found here for Bishop White's principle.

In one matter only was there anything that might serve as a precedent, the election of a Bishop. Here for some centuries the people had, in some places at least, a distinct part, in approving the election of the Bishop, made by the clergy of the diocese. It is rather curious that this method, which does not actually put the clergy and laity on the same plane and therefore does not fully carry out Bishop White's great principle, is followed in his diocese of Pennsylvania, though in most dioceses concurrent election by the two orders is the rule. This lay approval of the clerical choice seems, however, to have been general only in the first few centuries; metropolitans and synods seem to have taken upon them the right of appointment. It may be said that in the early elections we have much more the parish-meeting than the diocesan convention. With the

growth of the Church and the development of a hierarchy under political control the change came very naturally.

In the appeal to antiquity in support of any modern canonical point there is very apt to be a good deal of self-deception. It is as much in evidence as in the proof-text method of using Holy Scripture in support of doctrinal points. Apart from any attempt to study the actual circumstances, the analogue of the context in Scripture, there is no attempt made to take all the precedents that might be found in antiquity. Some doubtless would prove highly inconvenient. Some would be rather surprising to conservative churchmen. Here as in many other places we pick and choose. Now if we pick and choose, it can only be because we have taken our actual position for some other reason than the mere historical precedent, have some principle of picking and choosing. Precedent can always be quoted against precedent. Therefore, I say that there is some reason that guides in the choosing of the precedent we would employ. Now in the case of Bishop White and his insistence on real participation of the laity in the election of the Bishop, there is more than the falling back upon the precedent. He had grown up under a system by which the clergy were chosen for the parishes by the laymen in the parishes they were to serve. They could not well be deprived of that right when it came to the election of the Bishop. They were concerned in the choice of the chief pastor almost as much as in the choice of their immediate pastor. Bishop White therefore recognized here a real principle for the American Church, which it would have to follow, and, as is natural for the ecclesiastical mind, he began to look around for precedents for his principle. It is not a logical method of procedure. If it may be pardoned, the whole matter must be understood psychologically rather than logically.

Pennsylvania's contribution to the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the co-ordination of the clergy and the laity, in the legislation of the Church, is therefore to be considered a real novelty in ecclesiastical constitutional thought. That it has worked well, none can deny. That it is

to be the coming form of ecclesiastical organization throughout the Anglican Communion is a safe prediction. In the few minutes that remain it may be permitted to trace two of its theological implications, for it has such.

In the first place, it is a very clear enunciation of the principle that the Church is made up of clergy and laity and that they consequently belong together, not as shepherd and sheep, but in a much more vital way. That is a simple point often overlooked by both orders. But though there has been a tendency for the House of Bishops to gain authority in matters of doctrinal interpretation, no canonical determination of doctrine can be enacted in this Church without the consent of the laity, and they have as much power as the House of Bishops. The *magisterium* of the priesthood has evidently come to an end, at least in this Church.

In the second place, it is a very practical working out of that primary Protestant notion of the priesthood of the laity. That is merely another way of saying that the duties of the laity, though different from the duties of the clergy, are nevertheless of a spiritual character, that the spirituality, or spiritual estates, is made up of both clergy and laity. Such ideas seem to lie back of the thought of Bishop White. He nowhere goes into such reflections. His few formal arguments on the matter are superficial, both as legal and as historical arguments, and they are not very accurate. But I believe that the poorness of his reasoning is a sort of evidence on the whole rather satisfactory, that he had bigger ideas than he was able to put on paper. However that may be, the Anglican Communion as a whole has taken up his ideas. In England alone they are not yet applied. Sometime the preposterous anomaly of a Parliament made up of Christians of every sect, of Jews, and occasionally of Moslems, and Buddhists, or Catholics and Protestants, as well as Agnostics and Infidels, legislating for the Church of England, will become apparent to the British mind. Sometime a Welsh Baptist with his private secretary, as we understand from recent indiscrete remarks, will not have the power to appoint, without any possible effective action of the

Church, those who are to be its chief pastors. Then it will be on a new basis that the government of the Church of England will be reorganized. Then, it is beyond any doubt, the mother Church will fall into the line with the other parts of the great Anglican Communion and we may trust that under that better form of ecclesiastical constitution there will be some who will remember that they are profiting by *Pennsylvania's Contribution to the Constitutional System of the Protestant Episcopal Church.*

Our Colonial Mothers

By Anne Hollingsworth Wharton

THE late Dr. H. L. Wayland in one of his inimitable after-dinner speeches before the New England Society, some years since, expressed the hope that there might one day be Pilgrim Mother celebrations which should outnumber the gatherings of those who now meet to honor the Pilgrim Fathers; adding that those worthy matrons have an especial claim upon our consideration in view of the fact that they had to endure the Pilgrim Fathers in addition to all else that fell to their lot. Although not prepared to discuss the domestic virtues or shortcomings of these ancestors, who were doubtless good husbands and fathers; and if sometimes like Carlyle were "gey ill to live wi'," they formed good building material for a great nation. Austere they seem to us in the retrospect, strict disciplinarians and expecting abnormal spiritual developments in their offspring; as when Judge Sewall, who belonged to a later time, but possessed the same characteristics, recorded in his diary with great satisfaction that his daughter Katie, aged five, had experienced conviction of sin. This child's offences could not have been more heinous than the purloining of gingerbread or jam; and we can only trust that the weight of her sins did not bear heavily upon the baby soul of Katie, aged five.

Earnest of purpose and strong in their convictions of the importance of their undertaking were these men, ever upheld by their vision of a land of liberty before them, and in all their undertakings they were ably assisted and encouraged by the women of their families, who in the face of untold sufferings and hardships never failed them, or counselled a return to the mother country. In view of all that the Pilgrim Mothers endured we quite agree with Dr. Wayland that they have not been sufficiently honored.

Heroic women we naturally think of in connection with the Revolutionary struggle, but of such there were not a few in the early settlement of the country, whether upon the bleak hillsides of New England, where the winters were more severe and the soil less productive than further south, or along the Chesapeake and the James. A vision of the pioneer women of the Massachusetts colony, led by the girlish figures of Mary Chilton and Priscilla Mullins, inevitably rises before the retrospective student, because a certain halo of romance has ever encircled these two picturesque personalities.

It is quite natural that we should think of those Colonial women of New England in this year when the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims on the shores of the new world is being celebrated all over this broad land. Great was the courage, endurance and helpfulness that these women brought to the task of colonization; and yet the value of women in this work had been proved further south and at an earlier date.

With the first settlers who came to Jamestown in 1607, thirteen years before the landing of the Mayflower, there were no women. It is to the honor of those Englishmen that they brought no women or children with them to face the hardships and dangers that lay before them in their work of colonizing in an unexplored wilderness. Having ever in mind the sad and tragic fate of the Roanoke colony of 1587 whose disappearance is one of the unsolved mysteries of Colonial history, it is not strange that these men undertook this great work alone. The tragic and disastrous fate of the Roanoke Island settlement

of 1587, with its 89 men, 17 women and 11 children, doubtless acted, says one historian, as a salutary warning to the first Jamestown colonists. No women were brought over by them until nearly two years after the first vessels arrived, and even then no large number came to meet what inevitably lay before them, suffering and hardships almost inconceivable to the mind of man.

It was during these early Virginia settlements that the importance of women in the task of colonization was fully vindicated. Again and again those settlers, stout of heart and earnest of purpose as they may have been, were tempted to return to England.

"It was bad enough," says John Esten Cooke ("Virginia, a History of her People"), "to have over them such men as Wingfield and Ratcliffe, but the absence of the civilizing element, wives and children, was fatal. Later settlers in other parts of the country, brought their families, and each had his home and hearthstone. These first Americans had neither. When they came home at night—or to the hut which they called home—no smiles welcomed them. When they worked it was under compulsion; why should they labor? The 'common kettle' from which they took their dreary meals would be supplied by others. * * * The Virginia adventures were steadily losing all hope of bringing the enterprise to a successful issue and were looking with longing eyes back toward England as the place of refuge from all their woes. Such was the state of things behind the palisades of Jamestown at the beginning of 1608."

That Virginia colony has often been spoken of as made up of adventurers and criminals, but this cannot be proved, and the history of the times shows that those who came over in 1607 at once set out to build a church. It was the first Protestant Church so far as we know to be built upon the shores of the New World; which proves that the Virginia settlers like those of New England, Pennsylvania and Maryland and those further south were made of strong religious convictions.

A terrible time of starvation and discouragement came before the arrival of the good Lord Delaware. Lord Delaware by

his wise and just administration brought some measure of comfort into the colony and inspired the settlers with confidence, and then women and children had come with Newport in his second voyage.

Among the later colonists to Plymouth, Salem, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and elsewhere women came over at the first; but it was not until the Virginia settlers had met with many discouragements and some failures that women came over to join them in the task of colonization. Then, and not until then, homes, English homes, sprang up all along the river, and the wilderness and the solitary places if they did not blossom like the rose of the Scriptures, at least afforded something more like home life than the dreary community living of the first days of the settlement. After this we hear less talk of deserting or of returning to the Mother Country. The strongest motive power in man, especially in Anglo-Saxon manhood, had been touched, the home-making instinct. The love of country which begins in the home, reached forth from these centres of domestic happiness in early Virginia toward all that great State, which when the hour and occasion came, furnished to the cause of constitutional liberty some of the ablest statesmen who plead its cause in the halls of Congress, and the greatest soldier and patriot who unsheathed his sword in its defense upon the field of battle. This, and much more, we, as a nation owe to those settlers who landed at Jamestown on May 13, 1607, and to those who followed them in their heroic efforts to colonize in the face of pestilence, starvation and Indian hostility, all of which Lord Delaware, when he reached Jamestown in 1610, succinctly characterized as "much cold comfort."

The landing of Lord Delaware was on Sunday, June 10, 1610, and at the centre gate of the fort, where Gates had drawn up his men to receive the new Governor, who as soon as he reached the shore knelt and remained for some moments in prayer, after which he went to the church where service was held and a sermon preached. Good Lord Delaware set an example of respect for religion by regularly attending the serv-

ices of the church albeit with some state and ceremony, the ringing of bells and accompanied by an escort composed of the Lieutenant-General, the Admiral, Master of the Horse, etc. This was doubtless a wise measure and calculated to make its impression upon an unruly and ill governed community.

This building in which Lord Delaware and the Virginians worshipped was the first Protestant church edifice worthy of the name erected in the Colonies, and is especially interesting to us because its interior appears in the window at the left of the chancel in Christ Church; the upper portion represents the church at Jamestown, the lower part Christ Church with many distinguished men and women of the period at worship there.

Profiting by the experience of the Virginia settlers of 1607, those who came to New England, and later to Pennsylvania and the southern colonies, brought with them their wives and children.

With those who came to Plymouth in 1620 were women delicately nurtured and accustomed to such comfort and luxury as the English life of that day afforded. When I visited the homes of some of the Pilgrim Fathers as it chanced in the eventful summer of 1914, I realized, as never before, what sacrifices were made by those colonists of 1620, and especially by the women to whom homes and home comforts mean so much. "Scrooby," the home of Elder Brewster, situated on a broad plateau a few miles from the hill town of Lincoln, is still a most attractive residence, a manor farm of its day. Austerfield, the home of William Bradford, once surrounded by some acres of land, is now in the village; comfortable homes, both of them, less imposing than the castle from which came the daughters of the Earl of Lincoln, who came over with the Massachusetts Bay Colony in a later emigration, Lady Arabella Johnson and her sister, Lady Susan, wife of John Humphrey. Lady Arabella Johnson lived only long enough to see the bleak hillsides of Massachusetts clothed with verdure, before closing her eyes forever to earthly visions, or as Mr. Cotton Mather wrote years after, "She left an earthly Paradise in the family of an earldom to encounter the sorrows of a wilderness

for the entertainments of a pure worship in the house of God, and then immediately left that wilderness for the Heavenly Paradise."

Of the husband of this lady, Mr. Isaac Johnson, Mather quaintly wrote—

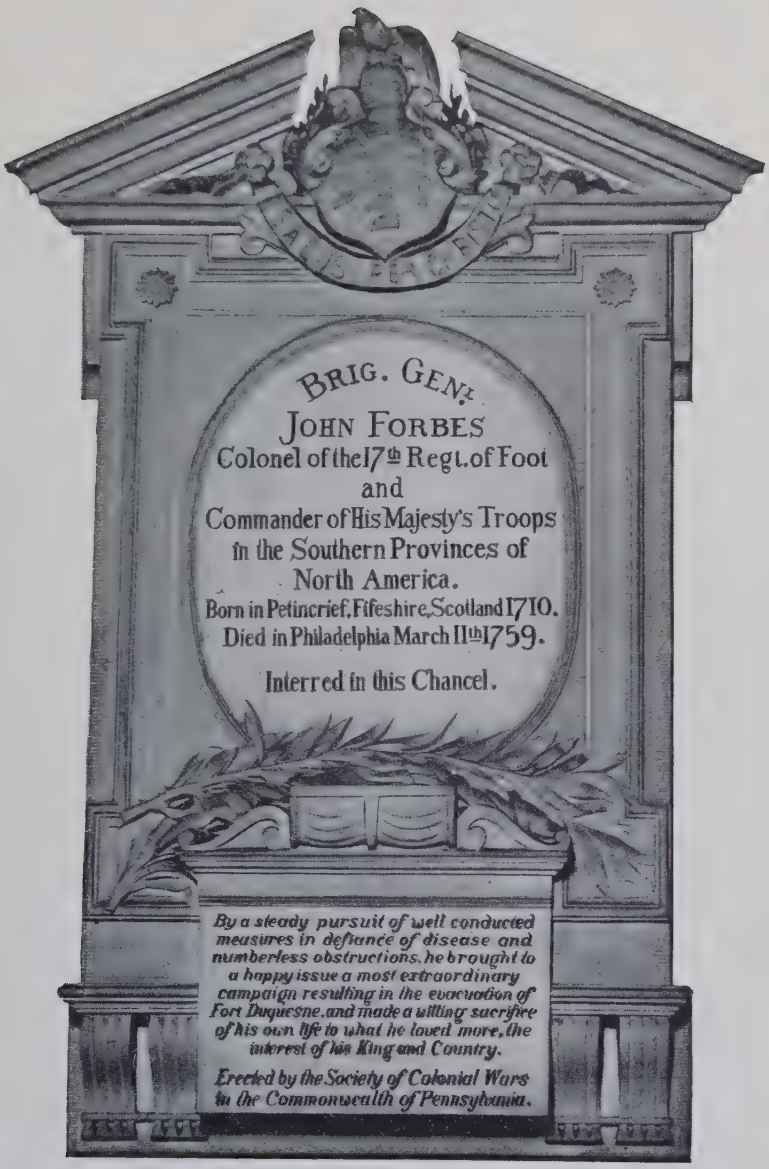
"He try'd to live without her
Liked it not and dy'd."

In this later emigration of 1630 were two women of distinguished ability, Anne Hutchinson and Anne Bradstreet, the latter the first poetess, the wife of Governor Bradstreet and daughter of General Thomas Dudley. Anne Bradstreet is spoken of in an early London edition of her poems as "The Tenth Muse, lately sprung up in America." In view of the fact that pestilence ravaged the Colony in this first year it is not strange that Anne Bradstreet's first poem was on a "Fit of Sickness," and that at nineteen she wrote of her "race being run."

Although Anne Bradstreet wrote in her early poems, after the despondent fashion of youthful poets, of her earthly course being run, she lived to a period beyond middle age, and was the mother of many children. Two distinguished sons of New England, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Richard Dana, were proud to claim descent from this woman, who had the courage to sing her songs of love and hope amid the bitter chill of the early days of the Massachusetts settlement.

The story of Anne Hutchinson and the cruel and unjust treatment that she met with from those who had themselves come hither to gain freedom of thought and action, is not pleasant reading today. The offense for which Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was tried and banished from Massachusetts seems to have been that she had the hardihood to give expression to some of her own individual opinions, in repeating the sermons of the Reverend Cotton Mather and other divines. Alack! and has not the world moved on since these days when a woman could be tried and banished for having opinions of her own?

Nor were the hardships and trials of colonization confined to New England and Virginia. From early records we learn



On Sanctuary Wall—North

that when William Penn landed upon the shores of Pennsylvania in 1682, there were only a few scattered log dwellings upon the site of Philadelphia, and many of those who came over in the "John and Sarah" the "Welcome" and the "Amity" spent the early months of their sojourn in this strange land in caves along the river bank. "These caves," says Watson, "were generally formed by digging into the ground, near the verge of the river bank, some feet in depth; thus making half their chambers under ground; and the remaining half above ground were formed of sods of earth, or earth and brush combined. The roofs were formed of layers of branches or split pieces of trees, overlaid with sod or bark, river rushes, etc. The chimneys were of stones and river pebbles, mortared together with clay and grass or river reeds." The description answers to the construction of some of the Indian dwellings sufficiently to suggest that the friendly natives may have lent their new neighbors a hand in the preparation of their temporary abodes.

The Owen's cave is said to have been in a shelving bank on the south side of Spruce Street west of Second, afterwards Townsend's Court. The Morrisses, Coateses, Guests and others dwelt in these primitive habitations until they were able to build themselves houses, the latter living in a cave near "Crooked Billet Wharf," so named from an old tavern on the Delaware, north of Chestnut Street, which had a crooked billet of wood for its sign. We learn from family papers, that when Elizabeth Hard arrived in Philadelphia, she rejoiced and thought it a special providence to find her sister, Alice Guest, whom she had not seen for years, living sumptuously in her own cave by the river-bank, where Elizabeth and her husband were entertained. Of Mrs. Hard's own share in building her home in the new world her niece, Deborah Morris, thus quaintly wrote—

"My good aunt thought it expedient to help her husband at the end of the saw, and to fetch all the water to make such kind of mortar as they had to build their chimney. At one time, being over-wearied therewith, her husband desired her

to forbear, saying "thou had better, my dear, think of dinner," on which, poor woman, she walked away weeping as she went, reflecting on herself for coming here to be exposed to such hardships, and then knew not where to get a dinner, for their provision was all spent, except a small quantity of bread and cheese, of which she had not informed her husband; but thought she would try which of her friends had any to spare. Thus she walked on towards their tent (happy time when each one's treasure lay safe in their tents), but a little too desponding in her mind, for which she felt herself closely reproved, and as if queried with—'Did not thou come for liberty of conscience—hast thou not got it, also been provided for beyond thy expectation?' which so humbled her, she on her knees begged forgiveness and for preservation in the near future and never repined after."

"When she rose from her knees, and was going to seek for other food than what she had, her cat came into the tent, and had caught a fine large rabbit, which she thankfully received and dressed as an English hare. When her husband came to dinner, being informed of the particulars, they both wept with reverential joy, and ate their meal, which was thus seasonably provided for them, in singleness of heart."

Pennsylvania as well as Massachusetts can boast of an early poetess, who is closely associated with Christ Church. On entering the door many of us may have been attracted by a strangely worded inscription upon the tombstone in the right hand side.

"Elizabeth Fergusson
The true sympathizer of Thomas and Anne Graeme
Wife of Hugh Fergusson
Eliza caused this stone to be laid waits with resignation
and humble hope for reunion with her friend in a
more perfect state of existence."

It seems not inappropriate to speak of Colonial women upon the 225th anniversary of this Church, because women have ever been the earnest and devoted supporters of all religious

movements. One woman whose name should ever be associated with this ancient Church was Martha Washington, who was a regular attendant here, and at St. Peter's Church. Brought up in Colonial Virginia and in a family belonging to the Church of England, in Philadelphia as well as in her home in Virginia, she was devoted to its services.

All descriptions of the Washingtons at Christ Church speak of their having entered by a door on the right hand of the chancel, which puzzled those who believed the description to be accurate until, in the course of some restoration, a door was found in the south wall which had been plastered over. It was by this door that the Washington family entered, passed in front of the chancel to their own pew, the whole congregation standing until they were seated. The President and Mrs. Washington and the Custis children were always followed by a negro servant who carried their prayer books, closed the pew door after them, and seated himself upon a chair outside of the pew.

While the New England Colonies were developing along their own lines, with scant charity for those whose ideas ran in other channels, Pennsylvania from her position and charter, became the home not only of the English and the Welsh Quaker, who came to it as to his birthright of freedom, religious and civil, but of the English churchman, with his more conservative notions; of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, as firmly established in his spiritual convictions as the Puritan, although less favorably placed by Providence for the direction of his neighbor's conscience. Fourteen years after the settlement of Pennsylvania, Gabriel Thomas speaks of numerous places of worship in Philadelphia—of one Anabaptist, one Swedish Lutheran, one Presbyterian, two Quaker meeting houses, and of a fine church belonging to the Church of England people. This was the Christ Church of 1695, before the English Communion had found an abiding-place in the much older city of Boston. "The place is free for all persuasions," he adds, "in a sober and civil way; for the Church of England and the Quakers

bear equal share in the government. They live friendly well together; there is no persecution for religion, nor ever like to be."

This group of ancient churches, which with this beautiful old sanctuary are among the priceless possessions of Philadelphia, is an enduring monument to the Christian toleration of the great and good Founder of the Province as well as to the devotion to their own churches of whatever denomination of the early settlers of Pennsylvania.

The Contribution of Governor Nicholson of Maryland

By James W. Thomas

THIS is one of the most auspicious events in American history, because it marks the advent of the Church of England in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

William Penn was a picturesque figure among the men of his day and generation. He was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, was matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, from whence he was expelled because he became a Quaker. That being a renunciation also of the faith of his fathers, he was sent abroad armed with letters to those whose influence it was hoped would restore him to the religious household of his family, but while he returned a profound scholar and an accomplished courtier, he was relentless in his determination to adhere to the group of his adoption. After suffering many privations and several imprisonments under the then rigid English statutes against Quakers, he inherited a vast estate from his father which he resolved should be devoted to advance the cause of his co-religionists, then numbering in England, about fifty thousand. A part of this estate was a large claim which Admiral Penn held against the English Crown, and which William Penn gave the King for that section of North American territory which he named Pennsylvania, to be colonized by the people of his own sect.

Thus it was that in 1682 the colony of Pennsylvania was started distinctively as a Quaker settlement, designed to be such for all time, and to which they flocked from every quarter of the globe. But schisms and strife sprang up in the colony, checked its growth and impaired its power of propagation, and soon the peaceful Friends represented less than one-third of the population of the State which its founder had dedicated to them.

As early as 1695 a Church of England congregation was started in the "City of Brotherly Love," and by 1700, Christ Church, Philadelphia, had been erected, and its first encumbent installed. Descendants of those families which were identified with the foundation of the State of Pennsylvania are today Church of England people—that Church which has since so steadily grown in power and influence until it has become a prominent factor in giving color and direction to the spiritual life of the community in which it dwells.

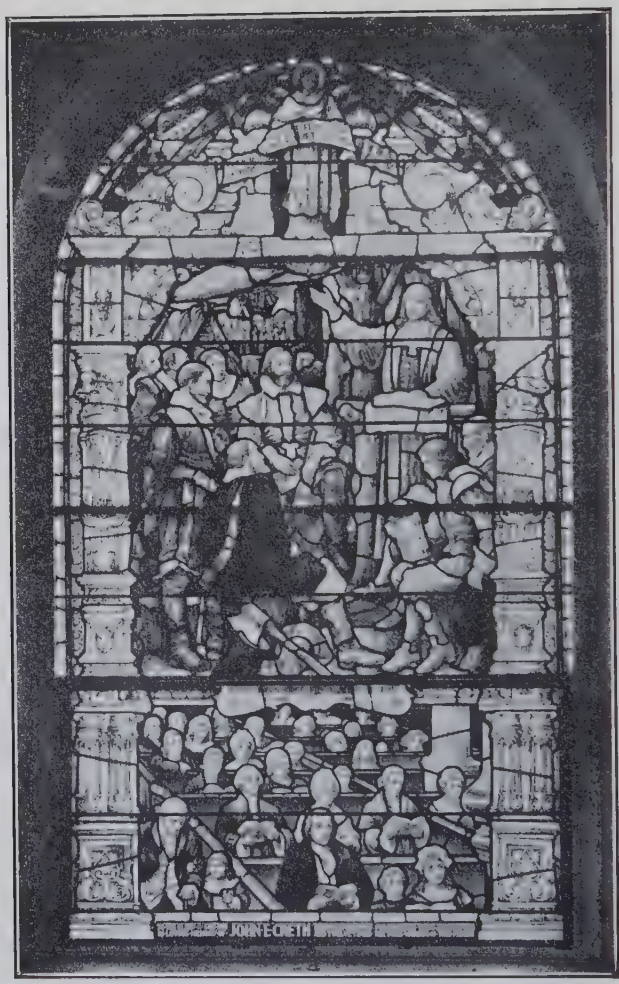
Some of the influences which had brought this about have come from outside sources, among them the helpful hand, unfailing interest and tireless energy of Sir Francis Nicholson.

While Governor of Maryland, he became one of the first patrons of Christ Church on the site of which we stand today, and as Governor of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina and Nova Scotia, covering in all a period of thirty-five years, he was the evangelical champion of the American Church, not only in its building and development, but in its upkeep and in ensuring better provision for its clergy. Such indeed was his executive ability and his force and vigor in church leadership, that it is recorded of him that in one of the appeals to England for an American Bishop, it was stated that if one could be selected "of the type of Governor Francis Nicholson of Maryland, he would soon have the devil himself trembling in his boots." To make more secure and certain a higher standard for the clergy he procured, as Governor of Virginia, a charter for the first college in the oldest colony in the new world, as a seminary for ministers of the gospel and for general collegiate and educational purposes.

The important fact should not be overlooked that this was not an easy task, but one that could only be attained by the most arduous labor. It was an idea in advance of the times in a new country, and the proposition excited the most active hostility of all classes. The rich, who could send their sons abroad, did not want it, either for themselves or for others; the poor were afraid of the tax which it might impose, and the clergy were against it for fear of the stiffer ministerial requirements it would produce. The Attorney General of Virginia was even so impressed with the conviction that the scheme was chimerical and visionary that he refused to draw the charter for it.

But in spite of these obstacles, in 1693, he obtained a special charter, granted by King William and Queen Mary, with himself and seventeen others as its Board of Governors. The Plans were drawn by Sir Christopher Wren, it was located at Williamsburg, Virginia, was endowed by that state with twenty thousand acres of land, and in acknowledgment of a magnificent gift from the King and Queen, it was named William and Mary College. A year later, in 1694, under difficulties, but less drastic, he procured a charter for King William's School at Annapolis, Maryland, out of which subsequently emerged the present Saint John's College. He personally donated the land for it, gave fifty pounds sterling towards a college building, endowed it with twenty-five pounds sterling annually for a head master, serving himself as a member of its board of trustees and making the Archbishop of Canterbury its Chancellor.

When once started, whatever the opposition at first, the people soon began to regard these institutions as objects of affection and pride. They were both master strokes in the march of human progress, and from the very beginning William and Mary College in particular became a decided center of influence for the Church. It secured a better educated ministry, a more enlightened community; it largely purified the moral atmosphere, raised the tone of both the clergy and laity, and thus became the most beneficent factor in Church life in the



THE AMERICAN WINDOW

annals of the early American colonies. The career of Sir Francis Nicholson was indeed a most distinguished one. He returned to England in 1725, was knighted there for his notable achievements in the colonies, and died in 1728.

I am commissioned to convey to you Maryland's warmest congratulations upon this happy occasion, and to extend to you the most cordial salutations of the season.

Maryland has a record of which she is justly proud in matters both civil and ecclesiastical, but it is only as to the latter to which I will advert. In her church life, there was much that was significant of the introduction, not only of a new era in the history of civilization, but of a powerful movement in its higher and fuller development. Of these, however, my time is too limited for consideration, beyond referring briefly to a few of them only.

It was in Maryland that freedom of conscience, in all of its breadth and its fullness, was first proclaimed to men as their inherent and their inviolable right, in tones, which, sounding above the tempests of bigotry and persecution, were to continue forever from age to age, to gladden the world with the assurance of practical Christian charity and ultimately to find expression in the political system of every civilized people. It should not be forgotten that this was done in an age of intolerance; an age when bigotry was the bane of every religious sect; an age when those who had dwelt under oppression, instead of learning tolerance by their experience, had but imbibed the spirit of their oppressors. In the old world, whether of the Church of England, the Kirk of Scotland, or the Vatican of Rome, the life of the dissenter and nonconformant was one of oppression and hardship. And in the new world, conditions were no better. In the North and in the South, it is true, there was freedom of worship, but only for themselves and for those who would exercise it at the altar of their particular shrine. At such a time and under such conditions, the fact that Maryland unfurled and planted upon her ramparts, the banner of religious freedom in the new world, must be accepted as one of the crowning glories of the age, for amid the religious fermenta-

tions and persecutions of the times, she wisely and securely laid that foundation, upon which arose in majestic grace and in matchless splendor, an altar to religious freedom before which every man could worship his God without fear and without favor, and in whatever creed he believed would best enable him to renew his peace with his Maker and his charity with the world.

It was in Maryland too, that was organized the first civil government in the history of the Christian world, which was administered under that great principle of American liberty, the independence of church and state in their relations to each other. For more than a thousand years the whole of Christendom had been governed by a union of church and state, and that blending of religion and politics became so degrading to the church and detrimental to the state, that it was responsible for the political upheaval and religious fermentation which had characterized its existence from time immemorial. The evils of the system were distinctly felt, but how to avert or overcome them seems not to have been clearly understood, and it fell to the destiny of Maryland to work out that abtruse problem in political economy. Maryland was to stand upon a higher and a more enlightened plane, and to that end, there must be a complete separation of church and state. It was a prodigious undertaking, for it at once involved the positive assertion of the temporal powers over ecclesiastical persons and things, and that too, in direct violation of the Papal Bull on that subject, but it meant also the absolute overthrow of the Canon Law so far as Maryland was concerned.

The Canon Law was the law of the Church and the law under which the Church performed its functions in governmental affairs. It not only asserted exclusive jurisdiction over all ecclesiastical persons, property and things, but it had made such gradual, yet steady encroachment upon the civil law, that it had drawn many of the most important departments of the latter within the circle of the ecclesiastical authority. It claimed the exclusive right over all matters testamentary and in accordance with its own rules, as well as over all questions of marriage

and divorce. It demanded exemption, both as to ecclesiastical persons and property, from the civil authorities, and the right of the church to hold lands without interference by the civil powers and free from all public charges. This was not consistent with Maryland policy. Equal rights to all, but special privileges to none, was her cardinal rule. The civil law alone was to prevail. It must stand as the shield and protector of all alike, a rule to which there should be no exemption, either lay or ecclesiastical. The Canon Law was not to find lodgment in Maryland, and to whatever extent it had done so, it must be displaced. In Maryland, there could be no settlement of estates or questions of marriage and divorce determined by ecclesiastical courts or by Canon Law rules; no legislation by ecclesiastical bodies, as applicable to ecclesiastical persons and things; no exemption of ecclesiastical persons or property from the temporal authorities; no holding of lands in mortmain and free from public charges by ecclesiastical persons or corporations, or by anyone for their use and benefit; no interference in any way whatsoever by ecclesiastical persons, as such, with secular and governmental administration. The church and state must stand apart, each away from the other, and each occupy its appropriate position in ecclesiastical and secular affairs. And thus it was that as early as 1638, this important cornerstone to the Statehood of Maryland was securely laid.

This great principle, however, was slow in taking root elsewhere, owing to the opposition of the church, and of whatever church happened to be the established church of the land. But it came. Its voice was heard again when Maryland framed her Bill of Rights; it flashed anew to the remotest confines of every state in the American Union when the time came to formulate the Federal Constitution, and its echoes have been heard again and again, when from time to time, within the last 250 years, the glad tidings of advancing humanity have been wafted to us from other lands, even from those beyond the seas, until today, the adoption of that great principle of true statehood to which Maryland gave birth and nurtured to maturity, is almost co-extensive with civilization itself.

Christ Church, in Relation to the Red Man and the Negro

By Herbert Welsh

IT IS to the kindness of our Rector, that I owe the honor of a place in the list of those who are to read papers touching upon the long and worthy history of old Christ Church in celebration of the 225th anniversary of its foundation as a representative of the Anglican Communion in the City of Brotherly Love.

I accepted the call to this pleasant task with joyfulness accompanied by trepidation. In the letter of invitation, it was graciously said that: "It would be most fitting and timely to have you, who have done such notable service to our dependent natives, read a paper based on these memorable facts in our Church history, and in the name of the Committee I take pleasure in asking you to do us this favor. The Church in Pennsylvania has an enviable record along this line, and it will be worth while to call attention to it. It was Bishop Compton who enjoined upon William Penn the policy of treating the Indians humanely. (Penn makes the acknowledgment in a letter to Lloyd). Again as early as 1741, the parish had a special assistant, Rev. William Sturgeon, who for twenty years devoted himself to the spiritual care of the negroes resident here." The foregoing is my commission which I will now try to execute conscious of imperfections for the task, but without wasting time by enumerating or apologizing for them. However, as I write—there comes before me in memory "a cloud of witnesses out of a long past, thirty-seven years, a goodly company of saintly and devoted men and women—Bishops and presbyters of our own Anglican and American Church, also women helpers of no less devotion and practical ability, with whom I have had the privilege of being associated in efforts during these last times to show Christ and His Church to the Red Men of the western prairies so as to lift him out of degrading

and cruel savagery into the liberty and law of Christian life. And then came the next, and no less hard task it must be confessed, to help fit him for self-support and civilization, to protect him from the rapacity and the fraud of certain elements to be found among the whites. During all this long and rich experience it has likewise been my privilege to be in the closest association with many members of the Society of Friends, the people called Quakers, descendants of the founder of this Commonwealth and his friends and co-workers who have given of their time, thought, experience and means shoulder to shoulder with other good men and women for the salvation of the Red Man of North America. Such co-operation has been most beneficial; and what is more it is prophetic of the coming reunion of the separated Christian bodies, and the harmonizing of apparently hopeless antagonisms in thought and dogma. I have seen officers high in rank in the United States Army working cheerfully and wisely with saintly women of the peace-loving Society of Friends to promote the education of the Indian. How different were they in the stock whence they sprang and how diverse in early religious training. Anglican Churchmen and Quaker, Mystic disciple of Zinzendorf and United States Army Officer! Whatever might be their points of difference stranger still were their points of resemblance as they all came to recognize that the Indian was a man and that man was a spiritual being, the child of the Father of Spirits whom the Indian himself recognized as the source of all things and the one to whom all men are responsible. Here was a common foundation on which all who wanted to help the Red Man to civilized life, could stand secure. The Indian himself stood thus to begin with, in his better moments, when he had not given himself up to those hateful passions which belong to unredeemed human nature, white, black, red or yellow. He must be approached then with justice and he who so approached him must be warmed with the Divine love, for that was the only motive power to prompt any kind of real missionary to make the sacrifice capable of overcoming intervening difficulties. And this was the gift of Jesus Christ who became incarnated in the

form of humanity. And in time the Indian, whether the wild man of the eastern forests, or, 200 years later, the wild man of the western prairies, finally could see and be convinced of the Christ because the men and women who came and preached Him theoretically, demonstrated Him practically by patience, truth, and sweet reasonableness throughout. My effort, my friends, is to say that these things are true because I have through a life time seen them. All roads lead to Rome and all roads of the deepest and truest human experience lead to the same great conclusion—love worked out practically in the fulfillment of the law. It is the highest approach to the Divine. Henry Compton, Bishop of London, when he enjoined William Penn, the Great Founder of the Commonwealth who came hither to make a "Holy Experiment" in the wilderness, to buy and not take away the natives' land recognized the fundamental truth on which the teaching of our Lord himself was based. How far that valiant cavalier, who did not hesitate in defence of King and Church to head troops in bright adornment of purple silk, and with a drawn sword in his right hand, could look into a future of two centuries to a widespread recognition of a truth in the treatment of the tinted races, which was so slightly recognized in his day, we cannot say. Let us give him full honor for so completely believing in its necessity that he has put himself squarely on record (thanks be to a member of this congregation for furnishing us with a proof of the same) as to tell William Penn to found his Indian policy on this cornerstone. Here, if not elsewhere, the two good and great men come together. And let us further thank our historian for the concise testimony of the proprietor of Pennsylvania "on behalf of his Majesty's Plantations in a letter dated Philadelphia, August 14, 1683, wherein he says, "I have exactly followed the Bishop of London's Counsel by buying and not taking away the natives' land, with whom I have a very kind correspondence."

Cannot all thoughtful men and women of good will today see the essential unity in Christian thought and action between the Quaker Proprietor, William Penn, and the aristocratic prel-

ate supporter of the British throne by the sword if need be, Henry Compton, Bishop of London?

And now let us speak briefly of the Church's concern for negroes in those early days which was manifested here in Philadelphia through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts as her organized expression of good will through that Society's agent, Rev. William Sturgeon, who was one of the assistants of the Rector of Christ Church in a period of time running on from the year of our Lord 1746 to 1763, Nov. 20th. We do not know much about the Sturgeon work beyond the fact that he seems earnestly and carefully to have catechized negro adults and children during this time, seventeen years in all. He was a young man when he began his work and at its close was married to a gentlewoman who had borne to him a large family of children. His path in this matter of teaching the blacks the principles of the Christian religion and the duties and privileges that flowed from the divine fount was not altogether easy or strewn with roses. He seems to have had two distinct difficulties to contend against. The first and greatest was the instinctive aversion that existed in the minds of the owners of these sables or slightly tinted bond servants, to receive instruction in ideas so explosive and dynamic, so communistic as were those taught by the Carpenter of Nazareth. Sooner or later men so taught might seriously question at one time or another, the right of white men calling themselves Christians to hold in bondage, to sell at pleasure hither and yon fellow Christians of a differently colored skin. They might also anticipate serious difficulty in giving an answer to the questions satisfactory to the interlocutor or to their own common sense, what right the white owner had to beget offspring outside the bond of holy wedlock that would be of his own blood and yet possessed of no rights that he, as father, were bound to respect, and whom he would sell to the highest bidder if prompted so to do either by avarice or stern necessity. It was hard to teach the black man "Keep my hand from picking and stealing" petty larceny when the Christian white man had just committed grand larceny through his paid agent the Arab

trader under the burning sun of the so called dark Continent, and, still nearer home, the Captain of the slave trading ship which crossed the seas to carry this human chattel to, in those days, not only a southern port but a New England port. And so we may draw interesting information from the following brief items. Notes from the American Colonial Church, a letter to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under date of Philadelphia, August 21, 1761, states: "My services amongst the negroes has been much obstructed by Mrs. Mae Clenaghan who opened a class at her home in opposition to that at the Church." And again on November 20, 1763, Mr. Sturgeon addressing the Secretary says: "All this time I preached twice every Sunday and read prayers and did all other duties of the parish, and on Wednesday catechized the white children, and on every Friday the negroes and instructed both in the sense and purpose of each part and for more than seventeen years preached every Tuesday at the City Alms House and once in three weeks during the summer season went to a Church in the country that had no minister and read prayers and preached and did baptize many. This has been my constant method from my first arrival to this day and lo now I am discharged from the service of one of the most honorable societies in the world, and what is the most hard to bear for neglect of duty to the negroes and by the means of one who has been the chief instrument of dividing our Church * * * I mean John Ross of this city who has been to me what the coppersmith (Alexander) was to St. Paul." In view of the abundant testimony to the high character of the Rev. Mr. Sturgeon and his good work during his relationship to old Christ Church it is hard to understand what could have been the truth here referred to or to that which he alluded to between himself and Jno Ross. Both points are to the present writing wholly obscure. Perhaps later researches may elucidate them.

A word in closing which carries us out of past history to that which the future shall reveal. The red men and the black men are still with us and in one form or another ever will be.

THE LIBERTY WINDOW

America's treatment of them is an insistent pressing question —truly "Christ in us," the hope of their glory and ours, moving us to act toward all men as He did when He was on earth, can solve it. Let us pray for His spirit that this question may be so solved. Then may Compton in Penn's day here and Sturgeon in a later one, and we of these latter days, by the same great power of the Crucified rejoice together.

The Library

By Louis C. Washburn

WE HAVE then discovered that Henry Compton, statesman-ecclesiastic, wove the thread of gold into the fabric of Penn's "Holy Experiment."

Intimately associated with him, we have also come upon another pioneer whose contribution to the development of this settlement was of first rate importance. The personality and enterprise of this resourceful benefactor is visualized in the Library, of which until recently it was wont to be said quite vaguely that, "It is supposed to have been founded in the reign of William and Mary."

The story of Thomas Bray and his Books and Societies forms a chapter of unsurpassed interest. It was brought to light but recently by Mr. Austin Baxter Keep, an instructor in Columbia University, New York. Preparing a thesis for his Ph.D. degree he took as his subject, "Colonial Libraries in America." Aware that there was such a collection in Philadelphia he came over to study it, and found that there was practically nothing known about its origin. He found that in the somewhat extensive accumulation of books in the Tower Room of the old Church, there were some 300 that belonged in the Bray Collection. Journeying to London, Mr. Keep made extensive researches at various points; and brought back with him copies of a score of important documents, which when pieced together made a fairly complete and remarkable record of

this the earliest Library Foundation in the colony. Mr. Keep has made sets of lantern slides of these documents and related objects; and has generously given his illustrated lecture to eager audiences here and elsewhere. His lantern talk in connection with the Church's Anniversary was one of the high lights in our celebration. The mass of material which he has collated will some day make a volume of singular value. From it and other sources the following facts are disclosed.

When Bishop Compton concluded that he could not personally visit the new world; he decided to send an agent, and selected for this post the Rev. Thomas Bray, dignifying him with the title Commissary. This was in 1696, when Bray was forty years of age; and for thirty-four years thereafter he proved a most resourceful and indefatigable laborer for the welfare of this and other British settlements.

It appears from the correspondence unearthed, that one of the conditions upon which he accepted the appointment, was that he should be provided with Libraries, whereby he might induce the best type of men from the home universities to volunteer for service in guiding the destinies of the distant colonists. That the condition was met by his own devoted efforts and the purpose fulfilled as the years sped by indicate one of the secrets of far reaching consequence. Whatever may have been the inferior character of some ministers of the seventeenth century who migrated to America, those who laid our foundations here were men of the finest calibre and with them laymen of capacity and zeal were drawn hither; the Bray Library being no negligible magnet. What effect then had this venture of Bray's upon the enrichment of the colonial group, and the subsequent primacy of this city in the birth of the nation?

It is because of some such implication, that we linger over the discovered data. When he had determined to inaugurate libraries, Bray set to work to collect the necessary funds. One manuscript copy gives the names of contributors together with the amounts; the list is headed by Princess Anne of Denmark, giving forty-four pounds. Another manuscript in his careful handwriting, gives the title of the books and the price paid for

them severally. Still other manuscripts give the lists of the books boxed and shipped in four successive consignments. To supplement available books, Bray proceeded to write and publish several works of his own; one, "Lectures upon the Church Catechism;" another, "Proposals for the Encouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations," a scheme for a Parochial Library in every parish in America.

Every book was lettered to preserve it from loss or embezzlement. There are four slightly different inscriptions upon the collection here; indicating the various dates of consignment. The local minister was made responsible for the care of the Library; and was called upon to make an account triennially to the commissary. As the project grew, Bray's keen imagination and restless knowledge ran far beyond contemporary conceptions and methods of handling books. In 1697 he published "Essay Toward Promoting all Necessary and Useful Knowledge, Both Human and Divine." His scheme now extended to the developing of lending libraries to provide also for the gentry of the country, allowing them to carry the books to their homes. He published "The Complete Scheme of the Several Sciences or Parts of Necessary and Useful Knowledge." In this he declared, "I shall not only extend my endeavors for the supply of all the English Colonies in America, but can most willingly be a missionary unto every one of those Provinces to fix and settle them therein when they are obtained; being so fully persuaded of the great benefit of these kinds of libraries that I should not think them too dear a purchase even at the hazard of my life."

In 1697 he published "Biblio Theca Parochialos;" of which an enlarged edition was printed in 1707; "In order to promote the Forming and Securing Libraries of three degrees, viz: General, Decanal or Lending and Parochial."

Bray embarked for America, December 16, 1699; made himself acquainted with the state of things in the Colonies, winning friends everywhere; and returned to England.

In 1700 he inaugurated a new development for his libraries; and sent out books, "to be lent or given at the discretion of the ministers." These were placed in five strategic centers; Annapolis, Philadelphia, Boston, New York and Charlestown.

The enterprise increased to such an extent that in 1701 he organized the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and shortly thereafter the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge.

In 1706 he accepted the Living of St. Botolph-without-Aldgate. In 1723 another society called Dr. Bray's Associates was formed for founding clerical libraries and supporting negro schools.

This in brief is the outline of the man and his activities, who left an indelible impress for good upon this colony; and whose indentification with Pennsylvania has been only recently rediscovered after the passage of two centuries.

Dr. Bernard Steiner, the state librarian of Maryland, in a biographical sketch says, "Bray was in advance of his times. His movement failed to endure because it was rather an exotic plant than a spontaneous growth in the Provinces. The plan made no provision for additions of books from time to time; and there was no disposition on the part of the people of the colonies to maintain and increase the libraries at their own expense."

Mr. Keep writes: "Virginia points to its Indian Massacre of 1622 as the fell destroyer of the earliest College Library in the New World."

"Massachusetts abides in serene satisfaction over the bequest of John Harvard's books, in 1638, to the institution that bears his name as our oldest university today; while Boston justly glories in having had a 'Publike Library' in its Town House before the year 1675.

"South Carolina claims that there can be little doubt that the first library in America to be supported in any degree at the public expense was that at Charlestown, in 1698.

"Maryland asserts that the Bray's 'Provincial Library,' sent thither in 1697, was the first free circulating library in

the United States, and that Governor Nicholson's suggestion of the same year, that the Assembly make provision for its maintenance and increase, was the first recommendation by any official that a part of the public funds be applied to the support of a free public library."

He adds: "In an obscure and now rare little book, published at London in 1698, with one of the inordinately long titles then common, but which may briefly be called 'Apostolick Charity,' there is mention of the Library of Christ Church, Philadelphia.

"Under a tabular arrangement into Colonies, Parishes and Churches, Ministers and Libraries, conditions here are thus itemized:

VI Pennsylvania	I Church at Philadelphia having a considerable number of Church of England Protestants.	I Minister I Schoolmaster	I Library

We are printing herewith for the first time the complete list of the books sent by Bray to Philadelphia; and are indicating by an "*" those which have during the years been lost to us. Attention has been called to the fact that the considerable number of up-to-date works on chirurgery were all taken; and the other, perhaps not unrelated fact, that Philadelphia became the medical center of the new world. If our doctor friends had sticky fingers they also displayed pioneering abilities, for which all men give thanks.

The hope is expressed that with this publication of the list, attention may be directed to the desirability of returning to the rightful owner, the Church, any of these precious volumes that may be today traced.

The writer had the pleasure in 1923 of visiting the London headquarters of the three Bray Societies and browsing amongst

the treasures in Lambeth Palace, the British Museum, King's College and other repositaries. He verified the discoveries of Dr. Keep; and had the pleasure of telling the officers of the Associates of the late Rev. Dr. Bray of the five Libraries founded by him in what is now the United States. They had been publishing what they thought was a complete list of the Bray libraries throughout all the British dominions; and had omitted for so long the names of those in the separated colonies, that the present generation was unaware of the donations which were in reality the earliest of Bray's remarkable endeavors; and from which in fact originated the Societies which became such nursing mothers to us and other frontier settlements.

There was special interest in learning from the Secretary that the Associates owned some Philadelphia ground rents, the last of which was sold as recently as the year 1917. This last ground rent was on number 929 Market Street, and payment was made to the Associates by Morgan, Grenfell and Company; these ground rents had been given to Dr. Bray presumably upon the occasion of his visit in 1699 "for the education of negroes in the Bermudas."

One of the informing manuscripts recently run across in the British Museum by Mr. L. M. Washburn is the following:

Memorial Representing the Present State of Religion in North America

By Thomas Bray

London, 1700

Humbly laid before the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishops of this Kingdom and other Right Noble and Worthy Patrons of Religion in order to the providing a sufficient number of proper missionaries so absolutely necessary to be sent at this Juncture into those parts.

Reprinted by Thomas Bray Club

* * * "As for Pennsylvania, I found too much work in Maryland to be able to visit personally that Province, though

most earnestly solicited thereto by the people. But there passed letters betwixt myself and that Church full of the greatest respects on their sides. And by such notices as I have received from some of the principal persons of that country, I am fully made to understand the state of religion there; where, I think, if in any part of the Christian world, a very good proportion of the people are excellently disposed to receive the truth.

"The Keithites, which are computed to be a third part, are truly such; and so very well affected are they to the interest of our Church that in the late election of Assemblymen, even since Mr. Penn came into his Government, they had almost carried it for the Churchmen, to their great surprize; so as to let them see they had been only wanting to themselves in not timely applying.

"There are in Pennsylvania two Congregations of Lutherans, being Swedes, whose Churches are finely built, and their two Ministers lately sent in nobly furnished with £300 worth of books by the Swedish King; and they live in very good accord with our Minister and his Church.

"There is but one Church of England Minister as yet there, and he at Philadelphia, well esteemed and respected by his people; and they do most importunately solicit both from thence and from other parts of that Province for more; where, I am assured, there are at least six wanting.

"There are some Independents but neither many nor much bigotted."

Another reports that about the year 1708:

"The exactest account that can at present be met with of the several libraries founded by Dr. Bray in America:

I	In Md.	1100 Books at Annapolis.
		1500 Books in 29 other places.
II	In Va.	138 (2 libraries).
III	In N. Y. including New England.	472 (4 libraries)
IV	In Phila.	327 (1 library).
V	In Carolina	225 (1 library).

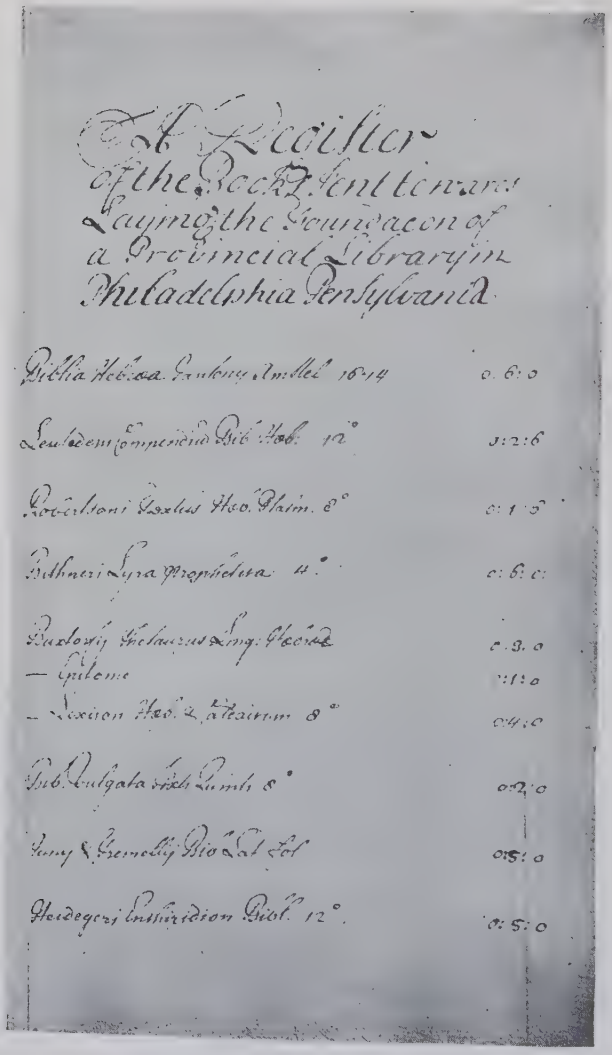
The whole remarkable story of what Bray did for Philadelphia, so romantically uncovered after so long a period, suggests the desirability for those of us here who sense the significance of it all to make some substantial return to the still active Societies and aid them in their fruitful efforts to enrich the life of other colonists on the firing line of civilization.

In addition to this original library, which was so effectively organized as to have accomplished such important results, the years brought other fine donations. In 1728 a large gift of valuable books, mostly folios, bound in parchment, was made by Mr. Sprogell (from whom also the Church purchased an organ the same year, for £200). These volumes are labelled:

Ex dono
Ludovici Christiani Sprogell
Ad
Bibliothicam Ecclesiae Anglicanae
in Philadelphia, Die Decembris 24, 1728.

Again in 1741 several excellent works were presented by Rev. Archibald Cummings, the rector. And in 1753 a bequest was made by the Rev. Charles Chambres, M.A., vicar of Dartford in Kent, through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. There were three hundred and forty-seven admirable volumes in this collection.

Other considerable accessions to the library have been received from various donors in later years. In 1789 Rev. S. Preston, rector of Chevening in Kent sent a splendid copy of Walton's Polyglott Bible in six volumes folio, London, 1657; and Castell's Lexicon in two volumes folio, London, 1659.



A Receipt
of the Rock. Gentlemans
Paying the Foundacon of
a Provincial Library in
Philadelphia Pensylvania

Biblia Hebraa. Buxtorf. Amstel. 16:14	0. 6: 0
Leusdeni Compendiu Bib. Heb. 12°	3:2:6
Cocceii Lexicon Heb. Chald. 8°	0:1:3
Buxtorfi Lexicon Heb. Chald. 4°	0:6:0
Buxtorfi Thesaurus Ling: Heb.	0.3.0
— Epitome	0:1:0
— Lexicon Heb. & Chaldaicum 8°	0:4:0
Bib. Vulgata Edit. Junii 8°	0:2:0
Pagnini & Tremellij Bib. 2 Vol Fol	0:5:0
Heidegeri Enchiridion Bibl. 12°	0:5:0

DR. BRAY'S RECORD

A Register of the Books Sent Towards Laying The Foundacon of a Provincial Library in Philadelphia Pensylvania

* Indicates Borrowed

I. Scriptures and Commentators

*Bibliae Hebraea Jantonij Amstel 1674	0 : 6 : 0
*Leutideni Compendiu' Bib Haeb : 12°	0 : 2 : 6
*Robertsoni Textus Haeb. Psalm. 8°	0 : 1 : 6
*Bithneri Lyra Prophetica 4°	0 : 6 : 0
Buxtorfij Thesaurus Ling : Haebrae.	0 : 3 : 0
— Epitome	0 : 1 : 0
— Lexicon Haeb : & Caldaicum 8°	0 : 4 : 0
Bib. Vulgata Sixti Quinti 8°	0 : 2 : 0
*Junii & Tremellij Bib Lat fol.	0 : 5 : 0
*Heidegeri Enchiridion Bibl. 12°	0 : 5 : 0
Clarks Annotations on y^e^ Bible w^th^ References & a Concordance ad Finem	1 : 5 : 0
D^r^ Hammond on y^e^ N. Test. fol.	1 : 5 : 0
D^r^ Patrick Commentary upon Genesis 4°	0 : 10 : 0
— Commentary upon Exodus. 4°	0 : 9 : 0
— Commentary on Levitious 4°	0 : 9 : 0
— Paraphrase on Job. Psalms Prov. & Ecclesiast. 5 vol. 8°	1 : 1 : 0
*Vassius in Epistolas 4°	0 : 4 : 0
*Medes Diatribe 2 vol. 8°	0 : 5 : 0
Leigh's Critica Sacra fol.	0 : 3 : 6
Ravanelli Bibliotheca 2 vol. fol.	1 : 10 : 0
*Stephani Concordantia Grae fol.	0 : 12 : 0
*Cambridge Concordance Grae fol.	0 : 14 : 0

II. Fathers

*Ignatii epist Vossii 4°	0 : 4 : 0
Minucii ffoelicis Octavius & Julius Firmicus de profana Religione 12°	0 : 1 : 6
Origines Contra Celsu' Grae: Lat Aug^t^ Vind^e^ 1605 : 4°	0 : 4 : 0
Augustini Operae 10 Tom 5 vol. par 1571	3 : 10 : 0
Salvianus de Gubernationi Dei par. 1617: 12°	0 : 2 : 0
*Scriveneri Apologia pro Ecclesiae patribus 4°	0 : 2 : 0

III. Apologies for Y^e^ Authority of the H. Script: and the Truth of Christianity

Mornoeus de Veritate X^anae^ Religionis 8°	0 : 1 : 0
Grotius Veritate X^anae^ Religionis 12°	0 : 1 : 6
Origines Sacrae 4°	0 : 6 : 6
Parkers Demonstracon of the Law of Nature & of the X^an^ Religion 4°	0 : 4 : 6
*D^r^ Prideaux's Life of Mahomet	0 : 3 : 6
Wilson Disc : of Religion	0 : 2 : 0
Edwards on y^e^ Authority Style and perfection of the H. Script 3 vol. 8°	0 : 13 : 0
D^r^ Nicholis's Conference w^th^ a Deist 2 vol. 8°	0 : 6 : 0

IIII. Bodies of Divinity both Catechetical and Scholastical

*Articuli Ecclesiae Anglicanae cum Defensione. D^r^ Ellis	0 : 2 : 0
Bp Andrews Pattern of Cathechetical Doctrine 12°	0 : 2 : 0
D^r^ Hammonds practical Cat^m^ & Discourses	0 : 16 : 0
D^r^ Scotts X^an^ Life 4 vol. 8°	0 : 16 : 0
*Bp. Kens Exposition of the Church Cat^m^	0 : 2 : 0
*D^r^ Ishams Exposition with Scrip proofs togeth^r^ bound	0 : 1 : 6
Magister Tententiaru' 8° } Syst pars	0 : 1 : 6
Aquinatis Summae fol } Syst pars	0 : 7 : 0
Catechismus ad parochos 8° } Syst pars	0 : 3 : 0
Brochmandi Universae Theologiae Systema Lutheranu' 4°	0 : 4 : 0
Turretini Compendiu' } Syst. Calvinistu'	0 : 0 : 6
Ursini Catechismus } Syst. Calvinistu'	0 : 1 : 0
Philippi a Limborch Theolog. Christiana fol. Syst Arminianu'	1 : 2 : 6
Peirces pacificatoriu'	0 : 4 : 0

V. On the General Doctrine of the Cov^t^ of Grace

Baxters Aphoismus or y^e^ Nature of the Cov^t^ open'd	0 : 2 : 6
First Vol. Catechetical Lectures fol.	0 : 9 : 0
— Short Disc : on y^e^ Doct. of y^e^ Bap Coven^t^ 8°	0 : 2 : 0
Practical Discourse Concerning Vows 8°	0 : 3 : 0

VI. On Y^e^ Creed both the Whole Body of Credenda and on Particular Articles

*D^r^ Heysin On y^e^ Creed fol.	0 : 6 : 6
*Bp. Pierson on y^e^ Creed fol. Int^r^ Opera	0 : 10 : 0
*D^r^ Barrow on y^e^ Creed int^r^ Opera fol.	0 : 0 : 0
Kettlewels X^an^ Beleiver	0 : 4 : 0

Dr Pelling on ye Divine Existence 8°	0 : 3 : 6
*Norris on ye Reason & Religion or on ye Divine Attributes.	0 : 2 : 0
Parker de Deo et Divina providentia 4°	0 : 3 : 6
Sherlock on Providence. 4°	0 : 5 : 0
Norris's Reason & Faith 8°	0 : 4 : 6
Dr Barrow & Dr Asheton on ye Trinity bound together	0 : 2 : 0
*Grotius de Satisfactione Xti 12°	0 : 1 : 6
*A Bp Tillottson of the Incarnacon and Satisfaction 8°	0 : 0 : 0
Sherlocks Knowledge. of I. Xt 8° — Defence & Continuacon of the Discourse	0 : 6 : 0
Dr Bate's Harmony of the Divine Attributes in the great Business of Man's Redemption	0 : 4 : 6
Dr Pelling's pract. Disc: Concerning Gods Love to Mankd	0 : 3 : 6
Downham on Justificacon fol.	0 : 6 : 0
Dr Sherlock on Death 8°	0 : 3 : 0
— Sherlock on Judgmt 8°	0 : 4 : 0
*Dr Wilson on ye Resurection 8°	0 : 2 : 0

VII. Moral Laws & Xan Duties

Bp Taylors Ductor Dubitantiu' fol.	1 : 0 : 0
Justiniani Institutiones	0 : 1 : 0
Sanderson de Obligacone Conscientiae de Juramento 8°	0 : 4 : 0
H. Mores Enchiridion Ethicu'	0 : 2 : 0
Parkers Demonstracon of the Law of Nature	0 : 0 : 0
Amesius de Conscientia 12°	0 : 1 : 0
*Dugards Nature of the Divine Law	0 : 3 : 6
Bp. Andrews on ye X Commandmts fol.	0 : 6 : 0
*Bp. Hopkins on ye X Commandmts 4°	0 : 5 : 0
Cardinalis Bonae Operae 4°	0 : 10 : 0
*Xan Monitor with Wake upon Death 8°	0 : 1 : 0
Kettlewells Measures of Xan Obedience 8°	0 : 5 : 0
Erasmi Enchiridion Militis Xani 12°	0 : 2 : 0
Moral Essays 2 Vol 8°	0 : 9 : 0
*Dr Lucas practical Xty 8°	0 : 3 : 6
Dr Pelling on Holiness	0 : 3 : 0
— On Charity	0 : 2 : 6
*— On Humility	0 : 2 : 6
*— Redeeming of Time	0 : 3 : 6
Norris's Theory of Love	0 : 1 : 6
Dr Wakes Discourse concerning Swearing 12°	0 : 2 : 0
Dr Hornecks great Law of Consideracon 8°	0 : 4 : 0
*Drelling Court upon Death 8°	0 : 4 : 0
*An Essay Concerning Friendly Reproof	0 : 1 : 6

*Spinks of Trust in God. 8°	0 : 3 : 6
Reynolds Treatisie on y^e Passions 4°	0 : 3 : 0
*S^r Geo : Wheeler X^an Oeconomicks	0 : 3 : 0
Norris Reflections on y^e Conduct of Human Life	0 : 1 : 6

VIII. On Repentance

D^r Tugelo on Repentance	0 : 2 : 6
D^r Goodmans Penitent pardoned	0 : 3 : 6
D^r Payne on Repentance	0 : 4 : 6
Treatise of Faith & Repentance	0 : 1 : 6
*D^r Asheton on Death Bed Repentance	0 : 1 : 6

IX. On Divine Assistance Prayer and Y^e Sacram^ts those means of Performing Y^e Foregoing Articles and other Devotional Pieces

*M^r Allen on Divine Assistance Inter Opera	0 : 0 : 0
*Liturgia Anglicana Graece	
*D^r Comber on y^e Common prayer . 5 vol 8°	1 : 3 : 0
S^r Matth : Hales on y^e L^ds Prayer 4° Int Opera	0 : 0 : 0
*Bp Hopkins on y^e L^ds prayer 4°	0 : 5 : 6
Bp Patricks Devotions 8°	0 : 3 : 0
*The Religious Seaman fitted with proper Devocons 8°	0 : 1 : 0
*D^r Pelling on y^e Sacram^t 2 pts 8°	0 : 4 : 0
Bp Patricks X^an Sacrifice 8°	0 : 3 : 0
*Kettlewels Help and Exhortation to worthy Commu' 8°	0 : 3 : 6
Duporti psalmi Grae : 8°	0 : 2 : 6
— Job. Grae :	0 : 1 : 0
Buchanani Psalmi	0 : 2 : 0
Terrentius X^anus	0 : 1 : 0
*Herberts Poems 12°	0 : 2 : 0
*Thomas a Kempis de Imitatione X^ti	0 : 1 : 6
Gerardi Meditationes 12°	0 : 1 : 0
*X^an Thoughts. 12°	0 : 1 : 0

X. Sermons

D^r Boys's Works fol.	0 : 3 : 0
Bp. Andrews Sermons fol.	0 : 5 : 0
Bp. Sandersons fol°	0 : 14 : 0
D^r Killigrews 4°	0 : 5 : 0
*Sir M. Halles Contemplacons 2 pts.	0 : 4 : 6
*A Bp Leightons 8°	0 : 3 : 0

— Lect on S^{t} Peter 2 Vol. 4°	0 : 9 : 0
— Proelectiones 4°	0 : 3 : 0
D^{r} Barrows 3 vol. fol.	2 : 15 : 0
D^{r} Alestrees fol.	0 : 14 : 0
D^{r} Burtons 2 vol 8°	0 : 9 : 0
D^{r} Conants 2 vol. 8°	0 : 10 : 0
D^{r} Goodmans 8°	0 : 3 : 6
Kettlewells Discourses	0 : 2 : 0
*A Bp. Tillotson 9 vol 8°	2 : 0 : 0
D^{r} Scott's Disc. 1 vol. 8°	0 : 5 : 0
*Norris on y^{e} Beatitude 8°	0 : 3 : 0
*— Discourses 4 vol. 8°	0 : 14 : 0
Dorringtons Disc: 2 vol. 8°	0 : 10 : 0
D^{r} Wakes Sermons 8°	0 : 4 : 0

XI. Controversy

Inissale Romanu' 8°	0 : 3 : 0
*Brevints Death of the Roman Mass	0 : 1 : 0
Juelli Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae	0 : 1 : 0
Bp Whitgift ag^{t} II.	0 : 7 : 0
Chillingworths Rel. of the protestants a Safe Way to Salvacon fol.	0 : 7 : 0
D^{r} Salls true Catholick 8°	0 : 2 : 0
Tillottsons Rule of Faith. 8°	0 : 2 : 0
*D^{r} Combers friendly Advice to R. Catholicks	0 : 1 : 0
Laud ag^{t} Fisher. fol.	0 : 6 : 0
Stillingfleets Vindicacon of the Protestants 8°	0 : 2 : 6
— Idolatry of the Ch. of Rome.	0 : 3 : 0
*— Answer to Cressy and others	0 : 2 : 0
L'Arroques History of the Eucharist. 4°	0 : 3 : 0
Barclays Works fol.	0 : 14 : 0
Snake in y^{e} Grass. 8°	0 : 4 : 0
Hookers Ecclesiastical polity fol.	0 : 8 : 0
Stillingfleets Previsu 4°	0 : 4 : 0
*— Unreasonableness of Separacon 4°	0 : 5 : 0
D^{r} Sherlocks Defence	0 : 3 : 6
— Vindicacon.	0 : 3 : 6
Faulkners Libertas Ecclesiastica — Vindicacon	0 : 07 : 0
*M^{r} Allens 4 Vol 12°	0 : 16 : 0
* B. Kings Invention of Men in y^{e} Worship of God. 12°	0 : 3 : 6

*XII. Ministerial Directories wth The Lives of Eminent Divines

Bp Burnets pastoral Care.	0 : 2 : 6
D^{r} Caves Cartophylax Ecclesiasticus 8°	0 : 4 : 6
Bibliotheca parochialis 4°	0 : 3 : 6
Glanvils Essay of Preaching	0 : 1 : 0
Addisons primitive Institution of Catechising	0 : 1 : 6
*Antient Aseeticks 8°	0 : 3 : 6
*Waltons Lives 8°	0 : 3 : 6
Bp Bedles Life	0 : 3 : 6
A General Catalogue of Books printed in Eng Since y^{e} ffire fol.	0 : 7 : 0

I. Humanity Viz^{t} Ethicks & Oeconomicks

Diogenes Laertius Cum Notis Causaboni & Alion'	0 : 13 : 6
Lives of the Graecian Poets	0 : 4 : 0
Aristotelis Ethica Rhodij 8°	0 : 3 : 6
Isocrates 8°	0 : 2 : 0
Epictetus Cabelis Tabula Simplicius, Arriamus. 8°	0 : 3 : 6
Homeri Ilias 8°	0 : 3 : 6
Seneca Opera Lipsij & Varior Notis Illustrata 2 Vol. 8°	0 : 7 : 0
Plinij Epitolae & Nanegericus	0 : 1 : 0
Horatius Cum Notis Menelij	0 : 2 : 0

II. Polity & Law

Wingates Abridgm^{t} of the Statute Law 8°	0 : 3 : 0

III. History & Its Appendages Chronology, Geography Voyages and Travailes

Helvinus Chronological Tables fol.	0 : 8 : 0
Cluverij Epitome Historiaru' Totius Mundi. 4°	0 : 6 : 0
* S^{r} Walter Raleighs History of y^{e} World	1 : 2 : 6
Alexander Rosses Continuation fol.	0 : 8 : 0
Livij Hist. Elzw^{r} 8°	0 : 2 : 6
Echards Roman History 8°	0 : 5 : 0
*Knttts Romae Antiq Notitia	0 : 5 : 0
Puffendorffs Introduction to y^{e} History of Europe	0 : 5 : 0
*Bakers Chron. of y^{e} Kings of England Last Ed.	01 : 0 : 0
*Elenchus Motiu' Numeroru' in Anglia.	0 : 2 : 0
Ellies Dupin's Ecclesiatical History of the 1st9 Cent 3 Vol fol	2 : 2 : 6
Bp Burnets Abridgm^{t} of the History of the Reformacon 8°	0 : 5 : 6

*Varennius Geography with Sansons Maps fol.	1 : 5 : 0
Loydij Dictionaru' Hist. Geographicu' fol°	0 : 8 : 0
Echards Compendiu' of Geography	0 : 1 : 0
*Fa : Hennipens Travails into America 8°	0 : 5 : 6

IIII. Physiology Anatomy Chirurgery & Medicine

*Malbranch's Search after Truth 2 Vol. 8°	0 : 8 : 0
*Bartholini Anatomia Reformata 8°	
*Riolani Enchiridion Anatomini' Pathogilini'	
*Riolani Opuscula Anotomia 4°	
*Gibsons Anatomij of Human Bodies	
*Blancardi Anatomia Reformata Sive	
*Concinna Corporis Humani Dissertis ad Neotericoru' Mentem Adornata Ludg Bat 1688. 8°	
*Lower Tractatus de Corde 8°	
*D^r^ Willis Abridgm^t^ of Physick 8°	0 : 6 : 0
*Forelli Observaconu' Medicnal	
*Chirurgicaru' Opera Rothomagi 1653 2 Vol fol.	
*Sennerti Opera Medicinal 7 Vol. 4 par 1633.	
*S^r^ Leonards Phioravants pieces in Physick 4°	
*Heurnius Opera Omnia Medicinalia 2 Vol. 4°	
*Fermelij Universa Medicina 2 Vol 8°	
*Lazari Riverij praxis Medici Libri posteriores.	
*Sydenhami procressus Integri in Morbis fere omnibus q' Curandis Lond 1695. 12°	
*Atkins Disc : of the Gout.	

V. Mathematicks & Trade

Leighburns Cursus Mathematicus fol°	1 : 0 : 0
Wingates Arithmatick.	0 : 3 : 6
Barrows Euclids 12°	0 : 2 : 6
*Outgredi Cluves. 8°	0 : 1 : 6
*The Measurers Guide	0 : : 0 6

VI. Grammars & Lexicons

*Oxford Grammar 8°	0 : 3 : 0
Walker particles 8°	0 : 3 : 6
*Cambridge Dictionary 4°	0 : 15 : 0
*Coles Dictionary 8°	0 : 5 : 0

Busbeys Gr : Gram. 8°	0 : 2 : 6
Vigerij Idiomata. 12°	0 : 2 : 6
Robertsons Lexicon Grae. 4°	0 : 15 : 0
*Screvelij Lexicon. 8°	0 : 5 : 0

VII. Rhetorick

Vossii Rhetorica	0 : 2 : 0

VIII. Logick

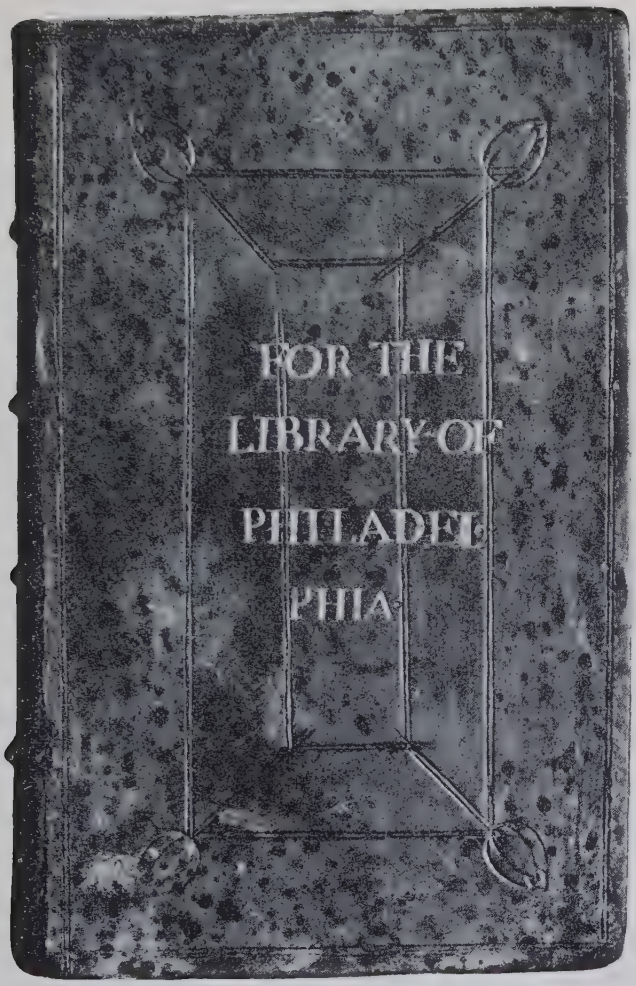
IX. Poetry

X. Miscellanies

*Osburns Works 8°	0 : 3 : 0
*Norris Miscellanies 8°	0 : 3 : 6

A Catalogue of Books Sent Aug^{t} 15 1701 to Augm^{t} the Library of Philadelphia in Pensylvania

Mori Opera Philosophica et Theologica 3 vol. fol.	2 : 8 : 0
D^{r} H. Mores Apocalyptical Writings 5 vol. 4°	0 : 12 : 6
— Bisc: on Sev^{l} Texts 8°	0 : 4 : 6
D^{r} Lewis Atterburys Sermons	0 : 3 : 6
The Book of Psalms with y^{e} Argum^{t} of each psalm.	0 : 3 : 6
*The Defence of the Snake	0 : 5 : 0
*The Divine Right of Tythes	0 : 2 : 6
	3 : 19 : 6



A Foundacon Volume

Bishop Bury's Message

BISHOP BURY'S message Sunday, November 21st, brought the program of the anniversary exercises to a fitting close. Another carefully selected churchful of representative citizens assembled at 11 o'clock. Members of the Society of Colonial Wars, Colonial Dames, Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, The Transatlantic Society, The Imperial Order Daughters of the British Empire, Judges and Educators and many Church officials together with members of labor organizations, and Army and Navy Officers thronged the building.

The Rt. Rev. Herbert Bury, Anglican Bishop in north and central Europe, an honored representative of the English Church and people, and special representative of the Bishop of London and of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, delivered an impressive sermon. In the chancel with him were the Rector of the Church; Dean Bartlett and the Rev. Dr. Montgomery and Dr. Foley of the Divinity School; the Rev. Arnold H. Hord, Registrar of the Diocese and the Assistant Minister, Mr. Ogle. Preaching from the text Joshua: IV-6 Bishop Bury spoke of his pleasure at being in the Mother Church of the colonies on this anniversary occasion; and reviewed the associations between the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. He told how, that on the recent Independence Day, while Bishop Rhinelander was preaching in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, he, Bishop Bury, was preaching a Fourth of July Sermon in the Cathedral in Garden City, Long Island. "It has come to pass," he said, "that Independence Day is now a holiday in which we all heartily rejoice, because it marks the anniversary of an event in which one of the greatest nations of the world entered upon its new life.

"May I venture to say to you that we across the seas and you here, are so near akin, and have so many things in common that we may make the serious mistake of thinking that we

understand each other. It behooves us to study each other's point of view, each other's traditions and ideals, and the more carefully we do this the more we shall learn to respect and stand by each other. There should be a close bond between the two nations, not for self-protection but for civilization, humanity and the general good. We should feel it our duty to carry out God's great purpose for the world. No Englishman who comes to this country can help admiring the devout patriotism of your people to which I myself take off my hat. To further this union, let us deepen our religious life. This would be a wonderful tie. With two great people coming thus into close touch, we may bring about an understanding of industrial, social and economic conditions; for all these things come with spiritual fellowship. We must find something practical to do together; for instance, to set Russia upon her feet. We must take our share in the safeguards and responsibilities of the League of Nations. It is inconceivable that you will keep out of world interests at this time. With forty-one nations bound together in the League, can we imagine that the greatest of all countries will hold aloof? Are selfish motives or traditional timidities strong enough to cause you to refuse to join us? I repudiate the thought. You Americans have too much chivalry to be guilty of such an act. You will surely respond, as Penn responded to the humane treatment of the Indians and as you responded when Cuba was in dire need."

Bishop Bury concluded by reading an impressive message from the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which the Primate expressed the fervent hope that the comradeship of the two English-speaking nations would continue and lead them to stand shoulder to shoulder in the great task of restoring civilization and preserving the peace of the world. "And," said Bishop Bury, "the whole Anglican Episcopate joins in this message."

A generous offering was then taken and handed to Bishop Bury for use in his work in Europe. The Rector also in behalf of the parish gave the Bishop a gavel made out of the wood of the old tower and bound about with a silver plate on which was etched a picture of the Church with the dates 1695-1920

and the inscription, "In gratitude to the Rt. Rev. Herbert Bury on the Anniversary of the introduction of the Church in Pennsylvania under the nursing care of Bishop Henry Compton and Commissary Thomas Bray."

There was also delivered to his steamer state room two learned volumes, "Chronicles of Pennsylvania," by Charles P. Keith, graciously donated by the author.

Returning to England Bishop Bury described his American experience in the London Diocesan Magazine, saying:

"Perhaps, however, I shall most cherish the recollection of the Provincial Synod at Norfolk, Virginia, and the celebration in Old Christ Church, Philadelphia. Three days before I sailed came the 225th Anniversary of Christ Church, and I had been asked to remain in order that I might preach on this very important occasion. This large Colonial Church, something like St. James's, Piccadilly, but on an even larger scale, was built in 1695, and financed by the S. P. G. with Henry Compton, Bishop of London, as its Diocesan, and Thomas Bray, sent over by him. They had thought that as I administered north and central Europe under commission from the Diocese of London, with the help of the same Society and precisely as was done in those by-gone days, I should be a very suitable person to preach to them, and again I shall feel that I never can be thankful enough for having had the experience. The Church was crowded in every part by representatives of the historic and patriotic societies of Philadelphia, and again, in an atmosphere helpful beyond expression, I pleaded on behalf of the unity of our two peoples. A large British flag, placed upon a stand in the nave, was just beside me as I preached and at one moment I felt so carried away by the evident feeling of those present, that, laying hold of its folds, I said, 'I can truly say that I have never been brought so closely into touch with this dear old flag of ours as I have in these months I have spent in America. You have deepened my appreciation and love for all that this flag represents to us.'

"The Colonial Dames are sending me as a souvenir of the occasion the two flags, so that I may keep them in my library in remembrance."

The Compton Tablet

AN ENDURING reminder of the important disclosures brought to light in connection with the celebration of the Anniversary of the Church took the form of a mural tablet placed on the south wall of the chancel, the gift of the Colonial Dames of America, Chapter II, Philadelphia. This Commission was executed by Mr. Horace Wells Sellers, who, in association with the Diocesan Commission on Church Buildings, greatly assisted the parish authorities in the rehabilitation of the tower room. Mr. Sellers, in a letter to the Rector, explained that now "It may be noted that the design has been developed in response to your suggestion that in character and detail it should reflect the period in which Christ Church was founded and in which Bishop Compton lived and died. In proportions and general treatment therefore the precedent for the tablet is found in original examples placed on the walls of English Churches during the later decades of the 17th century and continuing with various modifications throughout the 18th century.

"The characteristic noticeable in the tablets prevailing at the time of Compton's death is the stilting of the scrolled pediment and prominence given armorial bearings which in the present design are reproduced as faithfully as possible from the escutcheon displayed on Bishop Compton's tomb in the Churchyard at Fulham, England.

"The arms are those of the Bishopric of London on the dexter side parted per pale with the arms of Compton on the sinister side, sable, a lion passant-guardant, and three squires helmets argent.

"As the tablet in architectural treatment follows the practice of Compton's day so also the lettering of the inscription is based upon contemporary examples; and the Greek text, like the arms, is from the Bishop's tomb at Fulham."

The unveiling of this tablet took place at a Sunday morning service in June, 1921. At the appointed moment Mr. S.

Davis Page, acting for the President of the Colonial Dames, stepped forward and read the following declaration of gift:

"TO THE RECTOR, CHURCHWARDENS, AND VESTRYMEN OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

WE, the Colonial Dames of America
Chapter II, Philadelphia

Desiring to manifest the spirit of patriotism which is the keynote and foundation of our society have felt that this might well be done in honoring the memory of Henry Compton, Bishop of London, who during the earlier colonial period, held Episcopal jurisdiction in America, and at whose suggestion Penn adopted a conciliatory policy toward the Indians and who secured a provision in Penn's Charter, guaranteeing freedom of worship in this commonwealth, which rendered possible the founding of Christ Church in 1695.

"We therefore pray you as custodians of this venerable Church, whose chimes rang out the hymn of victory, and within whose portals the 'Father of His Country' knelt to give thanks to Almighty God for the triumph of right over might, to accept this memorial tablet, and in placing it upon the chancel wall of this sacred edifice, help to inculcate in future generations, the duty set forth in the motto of our Society—'*Colere Coloniarum Gloriam.*'

On behalf of the Chapter,
Ethel Nelson Page Large, *President,*
S. Elizabeth Gilpin, *Secretary.*"

Thereupon Mr. William White, representing the congregation, accepted the tablet in the following words:

"In the name of the Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen and of the entire congregation of this historic parish, this tablet is most gratefully received.

"You ladies of the Colonial Dames of America, Chapter II, Philadelphia, have by this gift made a significant and beautiful addition to the treasures that enrich and adorn the shrine.

"Your gracious benefaction will edify and delight countless pilgrims to this sanctuary through years to come.

"Your bounty has been happily supplemented by the skill of the Architect, Horace Wells Sellers, whose design is so aptly characteristic of the early decades of the 18th century, and while possessing an individuality all its own harmonizes so perfectly with the Forbes' Memorial and fits so naturally here into its niche.

"The chisel that shaped the fine block of Alabama marble was that of a genuine artist and Mr. Maene's uncommercialized absorption in his task has revived here the veritable spirit of the Cathedral builders.

"The strong beneficent personality thus appropriately proclaimed in this holy place was one that must increasingly arrest the intelligence and evoke the hero worship of Americans generally and of Churchmen in particular.

"Our anniversary exercises have served several worthy ends, but none more timely than the unveiling for us of the character and services of Henry Compton.

"This tablet is incidentally a tribute to the historical researches of an honored official of this parish, who should be standing here in the speaker's place (his informing monograph on Bishop Compton has been printed by the Church Historical Society and copies can be secured at a nominal charge in the Tower Room).

"Tardily perhaps but surely, those who would know their Pennsylvania are learning to estimate very highly our debt to the statesman bishop."

The Rector then delivered a sermon; his text being Gal: VI : 14, "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of Jesus Christ." Pointing out that this was the closing incident in the anniversary exercises, which had been of value in various directions, he recited Mr. Gilbert's verses, and recalled the testimony of Bishop Bury and of the venerable Presiding Bishop, who in his eloquent manner had authenticated Pennsylvania's leadership and stressed the importance of looking unto the rock whence we were hewn.

"Here and now we are assembled to certify the character and services of an outstanding personality who next to the proprietary himself, exerted perhaps a deeper and more enduring influence on this colony in its formative period than anyone else. The record engraved in marble recites his three chief accomplishments for us. It will repay us to review more intimately his life and labors. Briefly the biographical facts are: The Rt. Rev. Dr. Henry Compton, perhaps best remembered as the builder of St. Paul's Cathedral, and of really great influence on the course of history through his instruction and religious guidance of the Princesses Mary and Anne, who both ascended the throne, had, in 1675, been translated from the See of Oxford to that of London, had been suspended and soon restored by James II, had taken an active part in the movement against James, even appearing at the head of a troop of horse, when war was breaking out, and had crowned William and Mary in Westminster Abbey. He continued Bishop of London until his death in 1713. The son of an earl who had fallen in battle for Charles I, and himself, in his youth, a pikeman to aid the cause of Charles II, and, before studying divinity, an ensign, he was devout, benevolent, and while staunch in his protestantism and sincere in his orthodoxy, tolerant. He was notably faithful to his charge, whether over the colonies or in England, and he regretted that he was unable personally to visit America, and he favored the proposal that America have a bishop residing there. He was much interested in the Indians endeavoring to further their conversion to Christianity, as well as being solicitous that the savage natives should receive payment for the soil. He secured from Charles II the grant of a present of twenty pounds to each Chaplain that was sent to America by the Bishop. James II's treasury paid to those going during his reign, and, after discontinuance of the practice in William and Mary's hard times, this Bishop brought about a revival of it. Compton, however, was not desirous of the extension of his own Church through the weakening of other evangelical bodies holding the great principles of truth. He had a grand scheme for the union or inter-com-

munion of the Protestants of Europe. He was particularly unlikely to encourage proselyting the Swedes.

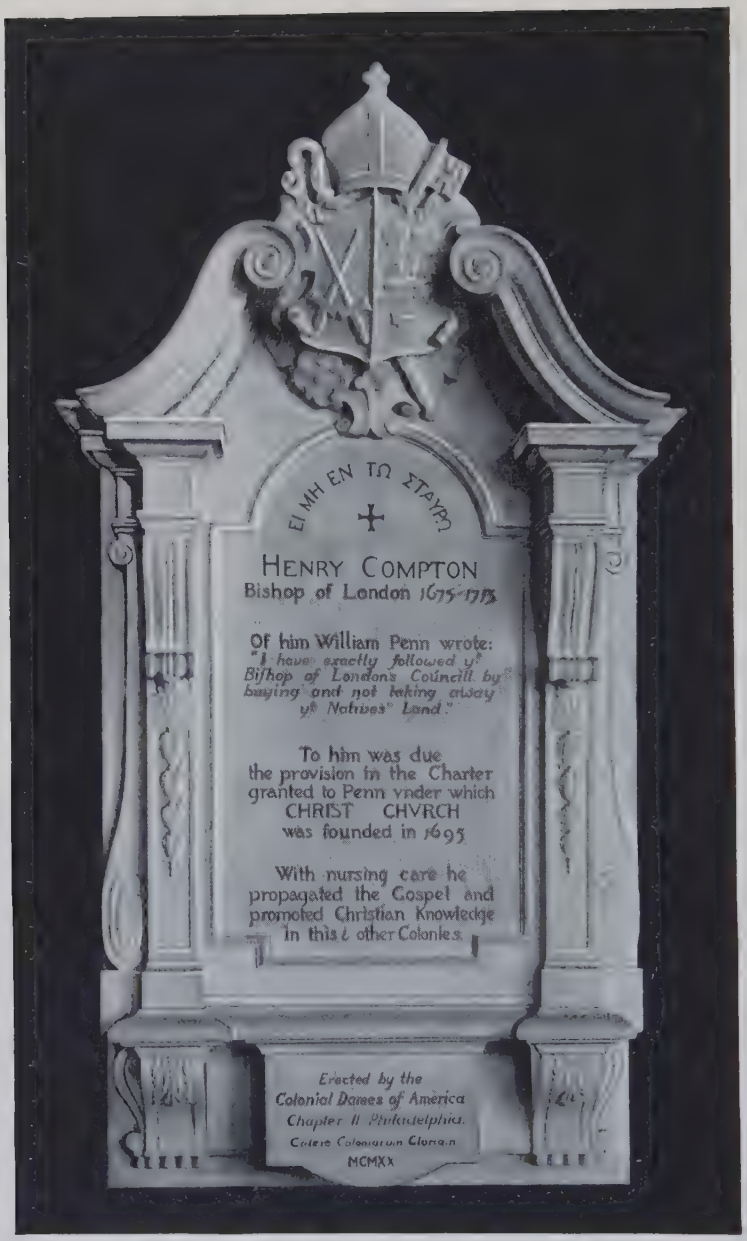
"The secret of his claim upon us is revealed in the text he chose to have carved on his tomb.

"The great apostle's declaration voiced the universal principle of human greatness. The distinguished Britisher, seventeen centuries later caught the same conception of existence and so was qualified for his great tasks in his place and time, and this is his searching message to us. Never was there deeper need for this spirit in private and public life than today and amongst us American churchmen. The standards set by the privileged classes at this time are, alas, much the same standards as ruled in France before the Revolution. The tendency today is materialistic and ostentatious; and shame-facedly materialistic and ostentatious. It is time for the best people to set their faces against this wanton and destructive drift. It is time a halt was called to luxury and self-indulgence; time that the door was shut in the face of invading vulgarity. With the 'Mirrors of Downing Street' we affirm that:

" 'Creation has not agonized in bloody sweat through countless ages of painstaking in order that those who inherit the highest opportunities for doing good should pervert these opportunities into a mere platform for the display of a reckless selfishness. Something far greater than she is now doing should be done by the Church to restore the sanctions which ought to rule conduct and give living force to public opinion.

" 'Religion is obviously too complaisant. The Church is much too careful not to offend Dives and too self-conscious to be found openly in the company of Lazarus. She has almost ceased to set that example of entire self-sacrifice which alone will convince mankind of the Divine Truth and interpret it to groping hearts.'

"Until we recover this primitive spirit, national prosperity will prove but rottenness. Less flippancy must lead to more seriousness, more seriousness to greater intelligence, and greater intelligence to nobler living. Choice souls here and there are warning and challenging us to again make real the abiding



On Sanctuary Wall—South

secret of life for the individual and society. *EI ME EN TO STAURO.* The Forbes tablet attests the same law in different phrase: he too 'made willing sacrifice of his own life to what he loved more, the interest of his king and country.' ''

If Jesus Christ be a man
And only a man, I say
That of all mankind I will cleave to Him
And to Him will I cleave alway.
If Jesus Christ be God,
And the only God, I swear
I will follow Him through Heaven and Hell,
Through earth and sea and the air.

The Poets' Corner

The Poets' Corner

Not the least of the fine utterances drawn out by the anniversary exercises were the several notable poems written by our gifted brethren, Bishop Garland, the Rev. Robert Norwood, D.D., of St. Paul's Church, Overbrook, and the Rev. John Mills Gilbert, of West Chester, which greatly enriched our anthology.

Christ Church, 1695-1920

* * *

WHAT sacred thoughts with radiance crown thy glories of the past—
Through ages gone and evermore—as long as time shall last—
They breathe of high and holy aims in Nation, State and Home;
With pride the Church and 'Varsity both claim thee as their own.
As here the patriots blended love for country and for God,
So may their children ever tread the path our fathers trod;
Upon their sure foundation laid to train each new born race
Today with like undaunted faith we sons our future face.
Hail rock from whence we all were hewn—here at thy shrine we meet—
Old Christ Church—mother of us all—thy natal day we greet.

THOMAS J. GARLAND

For the 225th Anniversary of Christ Church, Philadelphia

November 15, 1695—November 15, 1920

Through the ceaseless march of the years
The faith thou hast kept—and given—
Has stirred in the heart of the town
The hope of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Now speak from thy storied past
Of what to that past we owe;
Of the Mother Church, and her care
For her Sons who aroving go.

Speak of her steadfast will
Daring the perilous sea,
True steward of unpriced gifts
In her Christ-filled treasury.

Aye, tell of the years of old,
When noble minds and great
Here counselled with God and man,
Upholders of Church and State.

Not the heart of the town alone
But the Nation's burdened heart
Has found 'neath thy quiet walls
The courage to play its part.

Stand, while new centuries shape
God's infinite, ultimate plan;
Hold high, that all men may see,
The torch of God's love for man.

Blazon the march of the years
With the faith to the Saints once given,
And plant in the heart of the world
The joy of the Kingdom of Heaven!

John Mills Gilbert

1695—1920
Christ Church
Philadelphia

1

Out of the past I see again
Compton and Bray and William Penn,
Held by the bond of divine desire
To lift, as Christ Church lifts its spire,
America up to the gate that bars
Only the evil from God's stars.
Men of the new world,
Men of the true world,
Lift to the lips of the thirsty sun
This chalice of Penn and Washington!

2

Merely a plot on a village green,
And a cobbled street that runs between
Trees and a house-roof here and there—
That is all—and this place of prayer,
Over two hundred years ago.
Is it not strange that the ceaseless flow
Of time and its tears and its laughter, too,
Fails to efface what good men do?
Men of the old faith,
Men of the bold faith,
Swear by the Christ in Lincoln's face:
"This land shall be God's by Jesus' grace!"

3

Give me a day that is long since dead,
With those who sorrowed and suffered and bled
Bravely for what they loved so well;
That I may sing to each Christ Church bell,

Songs of our brotherhood great and free,
Songs of our new Democracy.
Men of our Motherhood,
Men of our Brotherhood,
America cries in Christ Church Square,
"Drive out the thieves from My House of Prayer!"

4

America stands in the courts of God,
Her feet are the feet of those who plod
Up to high Calvaries; and her eyes—
Blue as these Pennsylvania skies—
Challenge our faith. Have we not sold
Her for a talent or two of gold?
Men of the high faith,
Who are of my faith,
Back to the dream of Jefferson,
Back to the pledge of Washington!

5

Franklin has prayed with Lafayette
Under this roof where Mercy met
Judgment and Truth, they meet again
Now in Christ Church, O sons of Penn—
By that which sanctifies these walls,
Be true to their memorials!
Let us not falter
Up to the altar—
Faces of flame look down today:
"Kneel, as we knelt!" they seem to say.

6

"Kneel as we knelt, that ye may fight
Now, as we fought for truth and right.
Still there are slaves to be set free
Under the flag of Liberty.

Church School, June, 1925

Watch for the coward's kiss, the snare
Set by the traitor; be aware,
Mindful of those that prowl and prey
Only by night, ashamed of day.
Is there a garden grown by God
Where Judas' feet have never trod?
Is there one spot of human bliss
That has not known the serpent's kiss?
Kneel as we knelt, that ye may know
Whither the feet of your sons must go!"

Spirits supernal
From the eternal,
Led by Lord Christ are leading us on
Out of the night and into the dawn!

Robert Norwood

In Christ Church

Outside I hear the voices of the busy city street,
The ceaseless onward tramping of a myriad hurrying feet,
But I shut it out a moment as I sit here all alone
And seek the peaceful quiet that other souls have known;
For people flocked to worship in this open house of God
Ere the noise and din of battle sounded o'er the land abroad,
Then again they prayed for victory and for faith forever new
In the year when gallant Washington knelt here within this pew.

And from this sacred shrine today I go with solemn tread,
As waking from communion with the great both quick and dead,
It is a wondrous vision that fancy brings to view
While I a moment tarry in this quaint old-fashioned pew.

Anon.

Five houses here for sacred use are known,
Another stands not far without the town.
Of these appears one in a grander style,
But yet unfinished is the lofty pile.
A lofty tower is founded on this ground,
For future bells to make a distant sound.

(Translated by Proud from the Latin of Thomas Makin, 1729.)

More Things are Wrought by Prayer
than this World Dreams of

The Anniversary Prayer

BLESSED be Thy name, O God, that Thou didst put it into the hearts of Thy servants, the Founders of this Church, to seek in this place a haven of civil liberty and religious toleration; and that Thou didst safely guide them in their venture of faith. We offer unto Thee high praise and hearty thanks for their sturdy characters and simple lives, their zeal for righteousness, their just treatment of the natives, their pioneer labours, and for all the splendid heritage which, by Thy good providence, they have bequeathed to us. For these and all Thy mercies in succeeding years, whereby we are enabled this day to enjoy the privileges of enlightened freedom and the blessings which accompany Christian civilization, we laud and magnify Thy glorious name; beseeching Thee to enable us to show forth our thankfulness by a right use of our inheritance and by a sincere and resolute consecration of ourselves and all that Thou hast entrusted to us; to the honor of Thy great name and the strengthening of Thy kingdom. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Parish Intercession

ALMIGHTY and most merciful God, who makest us both to will and to do such things as are good and acceptable unto Thy Divine Majesty, harken we beseech Thee unto our intercessions in behalf of all who ought to be uplifted through this historic parish. Prosper every enterprise consistent with Thy will; and especially bless the effort to equip the agencies which shall apply Thy saving grace to our human needs. Inspire us to consecrate to this end whatsoever talents Thou hast entrusted to us; may those whom Thou has endowed with the stewardship of wealth, bestow it here in such measure and spirit as to win Thy benediction; may those whom Thou hast enriched with aptitude for helpful service gladly volunteer in patient co-operation; and awaken in us all such an impelling sense of the opportunity and joy of forwarding Thy work amongst all sorts and conditions

of Thy children hereabouts, that to the glories of our past there may be added continuing harvests of spiritual fruit, to the praise of Thy holy name. For His sake who hath redeemed mankind, Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

An Invocation at the 200th Anniversary of the Carpenters' Company in Carpenters' Hall

ALMIGHTY and everlasting Father, Lord of heaven and earth, who madest man in Thine Own image, to set up Thy kingdom on this footstool, let Thy Holy Spirit inform and impel the minds and wills of all who unite in the observance of this significant anniversary.

Into this hall, dedicated to an honorable industry and hallowed by two hundred years of loyal nationalism, may Thy blessed Son, the Carpenter of Nazareth, come at this hour, and shed abroad the vision of the brotherhood of labor, delivering our workaday world from all unrest, oppression, greed and strife, and uplifting all in mutual devotion to the common weal.

Recalling the congress of adventurous patriots assembled here one hundred and fifty years ago to compact the infant colonies into a stable composite of lofty aspirations and high resolves, that indivisible union of public welfare and self consecration which is now the United States of America, may we and all the citizenry, like them, invoke the guidance and protection of Him Who alone maketh men to be of one mind in a house; that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety may be established here forever.

To Thee, O God of our fathers, we yield high praise and hearty thanks for all the great things Thou hast done and art doing for the children of men—particularly for the providence that in the fulness of time peopled this land of promise with Christian pioneers, champions of unfettered conscience and free institutions. Mindful of the cumulating debt we owe through Thee to those nation builders, may we with a like pure mind and patient courage confront the tyrannies and dangers that beset

our generation. Fashion into one happy people the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues, and lift us above all racial and religious animosities. Save us from lawlessness, disorder and rebellion. Depose the priests of the golden calf, and empower the prophets of the primacy of the spirit. Ennoble our common sense with an unsordid and unquenchable idealism. Drive out the demons of international hate, suspicion and fear, with their devastating weapons; and bring in the reign of mutual faith and hope and charity.

Preserve us from the perils of prosperity. If drunk with sight of power we loose wild tongues that have not Thee in awe, be with us yet, lest we forget. Fan our patriotism into an unwavering and luminous flame, and purge it of that party rancor which Washington discerned as the chief peril of a republic.

Deliver us from indifference and inefficiency in the struggle for better government. Direct and keep true all to whom we entrust office. So rule the hearts of Thy servants, the President of the United States, his Cabinet and Congress, the Governor of this State and all who make and administer the laws, that they knowing Whose ministers they are may above all things seek Thy honor and glory; and that we and all the people duly considering Whose authority they bear, may faithfully and obediently honor them, according to Thy blessed word and ordinance.

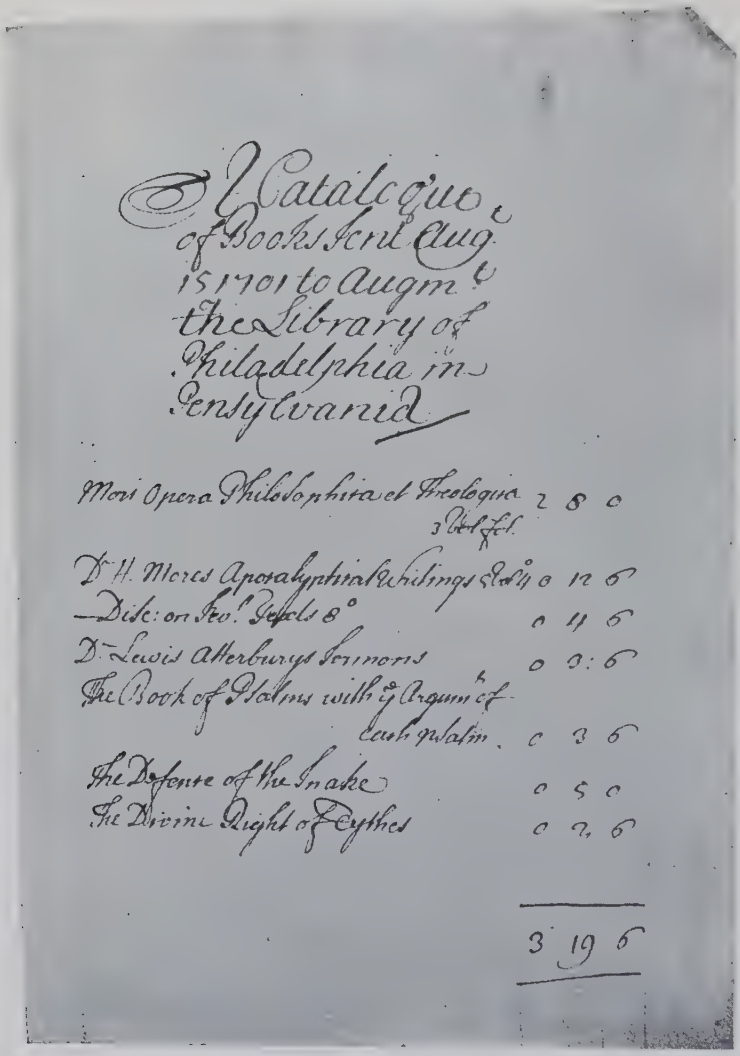
So, dear Lord, we beseech Thee to deepen in us and all who live under the starry flag the sense of our surpassing opportunity in these testing times as witnesses to Thee. Help us the more truly to consider Thy will and share Thy spirit and follow Thy way, that so we may have Thy sure reward; and may in union with men of good will everywhere be fit instruments of Thy glory, increasing the righteousness which alone exalteth a nation, and hastening Thy blessed kingdom, till the mighty chorus swells forth like the sound of many waters:

O beautiful for patriot dream
That sees beyond the years
Thine alabaster cities gleam
Undimmed by human tears!
America! America!
God shed His grace on thee
And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea.

Duché's Prayer at the Opening of the First Continental Congress

O LORD, our heavenly Father, high and mighty King of kings, Lord of lords, Who dost from Thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth, and reignest with power supreme and uncontrolled over all kingdoms, empires and governments, look down in mercy, we beseech Thee, upon these American States who have fled to Thee from the rod of the oppressor and thrown themselves upon Thy gracious protection, desiring to be henceforth dependent only upon Thee. To Thee have they appealed for the righteousness of their cause. To Thee do they now look up for that countenance and support which Thou alone canst give. Take them, therefore, heavenly Father, under Thy nurturing care. Give them wisdom in council and valor in the field. Defeat the malicious designs of our cruel adversaries. Convince them of the unrighteousness of their cause, and if they still persist in their sanguinary purpose, O let the voice of Thine own unerring justice, sounding in their hearts, constrain them to drop their weapons of war from their unnerved hands in the day of battle.

Be Thou present, O Lord of wisdom, and direct the counsel of the honorable Assembly. Enable them to settle things upon the best and surest foundation, that the scene of blood may speedily be closed, that order, harmony, and peace may effectually be restored, and truth and justice, religion and piety, prevail and flourish amongst Thy people.



A Catalogue
of Books sent Aug.
15 1701 to Augm.
the Library of
Philadelphia in
Pensylvania

Mori Opera Philosophica et Theologica 3 Vol. fol.	2	8	0
D.r H. Mores Apocalyptical Writings 4 Vol.s	0	12	6
— Dissc: on Rev.l Revels 8°	0	1	6
D.r Lewis Atterburys Sermons	0	0	6
The Book of Psalms with y.e Argum.ts of Each Psalm	0	3	6
The Defence of the Snake	0	5	0
The Divine Right of Tythes	0	2	6
	3	19	6

DR. BRAY'S RECORD

Preserve the health of their bodies, the vigor of their minds. Shower down upon them, and the millions they here represent, such temporal blessings as Thou seest expedient for them in this world, and crown them with everlasting glory in the world to come.

All this we ask in the name and through the merits of Jesus Christ Thy Son our Saviour. Amen.

Invocation at the Centenary of the Franklin Institute

AT THE OPENING EXERCISES IN THE WALNUT STREET THEATRE

"THE secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him." "When He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth."

O God, Who art the source of life and giver of light, from Whom issueth truth and beauty and goodness, be ever with all investigators of our world and interpreters of the universe through which Thou art patiently expressing Thyself to our finite minds; and guide and bless the deliberations of this assembly.

Do Thou, with Whom a thousand years are but as one day, help us in commemorating a centennial of providential progress, that we may so number our days as to apply our hearts unto wisdom.

We yield Thee high praise and hearty thanks for all that Thou hast done and art doing for the children of men—for that Thou hast endowed us with reasonable souls and faculties that may apprehend Thy glorious will—and for that Thou art beckoning us onward with the assurance that while as yet we can see but as in a mirror dimly, the time approacheth when we shall see Thee face to face, and know even as also we are known.

Quicken in the breasts of men everywhere a readier recognition of the incalculable debt due to the scholars who consecrate their talents ungrudgingly to the common welfare; and to whom we as children reach out hungry hands for continuing

nurture. Rectify this generation's sense of values—emancipate it from sordidness and superstition and sin. Animate it with a passion for eternal realities and for fellowship with the elect.

We recall with abiding appreciation the endowments and accomplishments of Thy servant whose name this Institute bears—Benjamin Franklin—and those kindred spirits in its membership whose earthly labors widened the horizons of learning and enriched our civilization. May we use worthily the heritage they have bequeathed to us, and carry forward the radiant torch till light and love shall glorify all existence.

Help us in these days of confused counsels the more fully to realize the unity of all truth, and to maintain the harmony of intellect and soul. Preserve us from the alternative of choosing between an irreligious science and an unenlightened theology. On our knees we would learn to think, standing on our feet we would learn to pray, till with adoring eyes we shall behold the power that swings the stars and the love that exalts our hearts kiss each other.

We invoke Thy heavenly benediction upon the Research Foundation inaugurated here. Direct it to the benefit of this and every nation, that enlightenment and healing, peace and prosperity may be set forward amongst all peoples. Keep pure the motives and high the aims of those who labor therein and all who utilize its results, that the issue of it may prove splendidly humane and beneficent. From conquered truth, as from accomplished duty, may the mysterious perfume exhale which makes fragrant the life of the soul and gives it over to humility and joy. And let the peace of God which passeth all understanding keep our hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, be amongst us and remain with us always. Amen.

Prayer Offered at the Convocation of the University of Pennsylvania Awarding Degrees to Representatives of the Franklin Institute

WE YIELD Thee high praise and hearty thanks for Thy Church's faithful stewardship of learning through the centuries, and for her sons who planted schools and colleges on this virgin soil. Looking unto the rock whence we were hewn, we recall with gratitude Thy servants, Benjamin Franklin, William Smith, and their associates who founded this University of Pennsylvania, which has through the years held aloft the torch of truth, and which today, with its distinguished faculty, is as a city set on a hill, an inspiration to our system of universal education, the source and bulwark of national stability.

May scholars and priests in their mutual spheres continuingly co-operate in leading the peoples toward the glories of unclouded vision and fulfilling service.

Seal with Thine own "Well Done" the tribute paid here to notable service in the field of science, and amply reward all frontiersmen of investigation, completing their ardent and victorious research in adoration. And we beseech Thee, O Saviour of mankind, to send us forth from laboratories and altars with swift and uncalculating feet to the crossroads of human need and distress, competent with tenderness and skill to resolve the hoarse cries of humanity into an endless chorus of joy and praise. And the earth shall be filled with the glory of God as the waters cover the sea.

At Franklin's Grave

GOD of the living in this world and the beyond, make us conscious of Thy presence and care, as we assemble among these monuments of those who having served Thee in their generations survive in the hearts of all mindful patriots.

From this historic Gods-acre may every pilgrim carry the conviction that righteousness alone exalteth a nation; and on

this hallowed spot may we rededicate ourselves to worthily carry on the high ideals of our fathers.

With due reverence we recall this day Thy servant, Benjamin Franklin, who though dead yet speaketh, particularly in the epitaph which he penned: "The body of B. Franklin, Printer, (like the cover of an old book, its contents torn out, and stript of its lettering and gilding) lies here, food for worms. But the work shall not be lost; for it will (as he believed) appear once more in a new and more elegant edition, revised and corrected by the Author." May this reasonable and holy hope sustain and stimulate us all day unto day. Ennoble us with honorable industry, mutual helpfulness and virtuous manners. Save us from lawlessness, class antagonism, bigotry, injustice and war. Fashion into one happy people the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues. Protect us from the perils of prosperity and grant, O Lord, that we and all who dwell in this fair land may seek after Thee and find Thee, that this favored nation may be meet to do Thy will among men; till the earth shall be filled with the glory of God, as the waters cover the sea. All which we ask in the name of Him who alone maketh men to be of one mind in an house, and who liveth and reigneth blessed for evermore. Amen.

Christ Church
and the
Province of Pennsylvania

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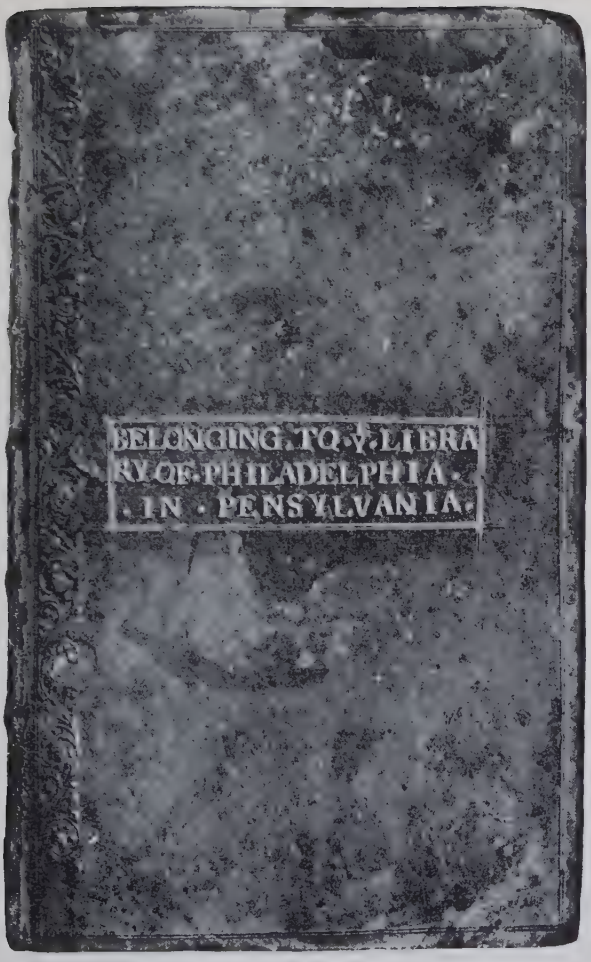
By Charles J. Stillé, LL.D.
Ex-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania
November 19, 1895

THE history of the indirect influence of Christ Church upon the lay element in Pennsylvania, in the provincial era, is not as interesting nor as attractive a topic as the ecclesiastical history proper of the Church. The most conspicuous examples of such influence are to be found in the repeated but unsuccessful efforts made by members of this congregation to persuade the King to subvert the Proprietary government, the administration and policy of which they alleged tended to destroy the exercise of their rights and privileges, civil and religious, as freeborn Englishmen. On four different occasions at least in seventy years, its members were the leaders of such a movement, and I propose in treating of the topic which has been assigned to me to explain why they adopted such revolutionary measures to destroy the government under which they lived.

The lay element in Philadelphia society in provincial days belonging to the dominant religious sect, may be said to have been for many years unfriendly to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and it watched the growth in strength and power of Christ Church with suspicion and jealousy. From the beginning there were two parties here; the Church party and the Quaker party. The former contended that its opponent had usurped power not granted by the Charter of the province, to the manifest injury of the civil and religious rights of other freeborn Englishmen. Strange to say, Christ Church although flourishing for more than seventy years in a peaceful community, with absolute freedom of worship, the right to which had never even been questioned by the Quaker rulers of the Province nor by anyone else, was in a very important sense a Church Militant. Indeed, I do not think it is going

too far to say that in no American Colony were the Church and those who dissented from it during many years placed in more open and violent antagonism. The Quakers formed for a long time the dominant party in the Province, and Churchmen alleged that it exercised at times its power in such a way as to conflict with the traditional religious beliefs and practices of the members of the *Established* Church. The latter, feeble in number, constantly resorted to the Imperial power in England to maintain what they claimed to be their civil and their religious rights and privileges. They petitioned the King to force the Quaker magistrates to take such oaths of office as were customary and obligatory in England, and to which alone they attributed any binding legal force here. They asked that the juries and witnesses in the courts should come under the same formal obligation, that the right of petition, which they alleged the Quakers had set at naught, should be maintained as sacred, and that they should be forced to place the Province in a state of defence against the pirates and Indians, by whose incursions they were threatened. Feeling that there was little prospect of compelling the Quakers to adopt any such measures of legislation in the Provincial Assembly as the emergency required, they earnestly urged the King to dispossess the Proprietor, to dissolve the existing government, and to govern Pennsylvania henceforth as a Royal Province.

There is a popular opinion that the Provincial Régime in Pennsylvania was marked not only by religious toleration, but by absolute religious freedom; that there was, during this provincial era, a kind of idyllic tranquillity and harmony here, resulting from non-interference with the religious rights and opinions of those who did not agree with the ruling party. Those who hold such opinions forget that although William Penn, our founder, was the most enlightened political philosopher of his time, and one of the earliest advocates, since the days of the Emperor Constantine, of absolute religious freedom, none of his successors in office held the same opinions as he. There was not a Quaker among them. They and their Deputy Governors during the whole Provincial Régime were strong adherents



Augmenting Sample

of the English Church, as by law established, and in an important sense special patrons of Christ Church. Their notion of other people's religious rights did not extend beyond the protection vouchsafed to Dissenters by the English Toleration Act (so called) of 1689. They held that the Quakers had no special power in this Province to enlarge the indulgence granted by that Act. The history, therefore, of the comparatively small body of Episcopalians here, or of the members of Christ Church (for I use in this paper the terms as equivalent), is a history of strife for objects which we may now think trivial, but which both parties, two hundred years ago, looked upon as fundamental. It is, of course, not pleasant to recall the history of more than seventy years of religious discords but I trust that we are now far enough away from the battlefield to describe its scenes with impartiality and truth. If I am forced to "rake up the ashes of our fathers," I trust that it will not be necessary to disturb them further than to throw light upon the scenes in which they were such conspicuous actors.

By the "great law" adopted by the freemen at Upland in December, 1682, it was provided that "no person now or hereafter living in the Province, who shall confess one Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world, and professeth himself or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly under civil government, shall in any wise be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion and practices; nor shall be obliged at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry, contrary to his mind, but shall fully and freely enjoy his or her liberty in that respect without any interruption or molestation." This provision, it will be observed, establishes religious toleration, not liberty.

Before the Charter was granted by the King, it was submitted to the Bishop of London and an amendment was made to it, at his instance, providing that that Bishop should have power to appoint a chaplain for the service of any congregation, consisting of not less than twenty persons, who might desire such a minister. Out of the different interpretation which was

placed by the Quakers and by the Church people on this innocent looking provision, arose all the bitterness of the controversy which characterised the relations of these religious bodies during the Provincial era. There never was, it seems to me, a religious dispute in which each side was more sincere in maintaining opposite views. The Quakers insisted that the principal object which Penn had in view in founding the Colony, was to secure a place of refuge and safety for those of his followers who were exposed to persecution in England, and where they might with absolute freedom maintain their creed and practice their profession; that all acts of the government should be subordinated to carrying out such a scheme, called by its leader "the Holy Experiment," and that any act of Government, Imperial or Provincial, which interpreted the Charter in any other way, was repugnant to its spirit if not to its letter.

The conditions imposed by law on the power of the Legislative Assembly, and to which they all heartily agreed, were that they should not deny liberty of worship to those who differed from them and should not deny to anyone the rights of Englishmen. The Quakers had, of course, the entire control of the legislative body, and they practically determined how far the privilege granted by the Charter extended. In their early legislation here they made what turned out to be (as Penn had tried in vain to convince them) a serious mistake, and that was by sometimes acting as if this was a Quaker colony exclusively, possessed of certain privileges to which, as refugees and as Quakers, they considered themselves entitled, and to which all the inhabitants must conform; and not, as it really was, in law and in intention, a colony of free-born Englishmen, all of whom were entitled to the privileges granted by the Charter, as well as those common law rights of Englishmen which they had not forfeited by crossing the sea, whether they belonged to the Society of Friends or not. In those days a limited toleration, strictly laid down by a formal statute, was the only one which was recognized by English or Provincial law. The natural right to religious liberty, as it is now called, was not asserted, except by a stray philosopher, until the period of our Revolution.

Toleration in that era meant simply an exemption from the penalties which had been imposed upon Dissenters from the Established Church by various statutes which had been enacted since the Reformation.

The utmost limit of that toleration was reached by a statute of the first year of William and Mary, 1689, commonly called "the Toleration Act," which relieved certain Dissenters, including Quakers who took the Test and made the Declaration against certain Roman Catholic dogmas, from penalties to which at the time they were amenable. The early legislation here of the Assembly, professed to give a wider or freer toleration than that granted in England by that Act. *Hinc illae lacrymae.*

The English Churchman in this Province, and especially the English clergyman sent here by the Bishop of London, regarded all these pretensions of the Quakers as unfounded, illegal and extravagant. The clergyman when ordered here for duty by the Bishop of London might be a poor missionary, but he was a member of what he called the Established Church in America, and he brought with him, in his opinion, the whole power of that Church, with all the rights and immunities with which it was clothed in England. He had a lofty conception of the inherent dignity of his office. The Bishop of London was his lawful superior, he alone having jurisdiction over him, and in his church courts alone could he be called upon to account for any offence in which the rights of conscience or his rights as a clergyman were involved. The tenure of his office was life-long; his congregation and his vestry had no control either in choosing or deposing him. With many of the clergy sent to this country, it was a favorite maxim that vestries were useless bodies, and they held to the oldworld doctrine that the clergy should be supported by the State; if not directly by tithes, then by setting apart large tracts of land, the income of which should be reserved for their support. In a word, for many years they held that any action of the Provincial Government which interfered with their status and privileges here, as members of the Established Church of England, as settled by the statutes of the realm, should be disallowed by the Privy Council; hence the frequent appeals

on their part to the Imperial Government, asking not merely that such action should be declared illegal and void, but that the Proprietary Government should be abolished as incurably bent on setting aside their privileges, which they claimed as absolute in English law.

With claims such as these, and with the feeling of superiority to their fellow-colonists begotten of those claims, it is not to be wondered at that any act of the Quaker majority of the Assembly, which seemed to dispute their validity, should be severely criticised and opposed by the Episcopal clergy. It is perhaps not too much to say that the Churchmen from the beginning, under the lead of Colonel Quarry, the Judge of Admiralty, and the most conspicuous member of the vestry of Christ Church, were anxious to substitute a Royal for a Proprietary Government, but they were ready, before the controversy was closed, to avow that it was their purpose to contend for it. In the meantime, a most uncomfortable feeling existed between the parties, and, any act of the majority which could be construed to constrain the actions of Churchmen in any way, seemed likely to kindle into a consuming flame the spirit of discord which grew apace with the growth of Christ Church.

But the clergy were not the only complainants; murmurs of dissatisfaction were heard among those of the laity, who were not Quakers, that the legislation of the Quaker Provincial Assembly was inconsistent with the Charter and the safety of the Province. No proper preparation, it was alleged, was made to protect the inhabitants against the pirates in Delaware Bay, the French and Indians, the Test Oath was made more indulgent in its terms than had been prescribed by Parliament and a general disposition, it was said, was shown to govern the Province on Quaker principles, not on those distinctively English.

To those who have looked on William Penn as the apostle of toleration, it seems indeed strange that the very first complaint made by the vestry and congregation of Christ Church against the legislation of the Assembly and the action of the magistrates under it, was that it violated the civil and religious rights of these Englishmen, inhabitants of the Province, who

were not Quakers. Yet such was the charge brought before the Privy Council. Within ten years after the settlement of the Province, George Keith, at one time a most zealous Quaker and a very learned man, but who afterwards became a very active church missionary, denounced the leaders of his former friends in a manner, which, to put it mildly, constituted the serious offence (as the Quakers considered it and had so declared by a Provincial statute), of "speaking evil of dignities." For this offense Keith was brought before the magistrates (many of whom were members of the Ecclesiastical Meeting, a tribunal which had deposed him from his membership in the Society), and being somewhat bullied by them, he lost his temper and abused his judges in his turn. For this he was nominally condemned to pay a fine, but the Churchmen chose to consider his sentence as really that of an apostate, and not merely the punishment meted out to an offender against the statute which prohibited speaking disrespectfully of the Government or its officers. His friends, and especially Churchmen, took up his cause with zeal, and as they had no hope of relief from the Provincial Government, they went to the root of the matter and sent a petition to the Imperial Government, begging it to depose that of the Proprietary. They insisted that Keith had been tried by a tribunal which had no legal authority whatever, the judges never having been qualified for their office by taking either the oath or affirmation then required of all officials by the Imperial Government. They insisted, too, that Keith had really been condemned for an ecclesiastical, not for a civil offence, and thus that the rights of non-Quakers were put in jeopardy. These charges, which accused the authorities of a flagrant usurpation of power, were formally laid before the Privy Council in England. At the same time it was alleged that the Quakers, owing to their conscientious scruples about war, had taken no measures to protect the shores of Delaware Bay from the incursions of pirates. As William Penn was probably thought by the new sovereigns to be something of a Jacobite, owing to his favor with James II, he was suspended from his government, which was handed over temporarily to Governor Fletcher, of New York. Thus it would

appear that the lay element of the Church here, even before the formal organization of Christ Church, was strong enough to induce the English Government to revolutionize the administration, mainly on the ground that the rights of non-Quakers were not adequately protected by the action of the Provincial Assembly which the Quaker majority controlled.

It is difficult, I confess, to understand with our present notions of religious liberty, how the Churchmen, possessing, as they did, freedom of worship and the absolute control of the property belonging to their Church, could have made any complaint on that score of a violation of the religious rights of those who were non-Quakers. However this may be, it was evident that the Provincial Assembly did not learn wisdom from experience. In 1698, after the Proprietary Government had been restored, the magistrates continued their prosecutions against those who attacked the Provincial Government, and their opponents asked that the King should take them under his special care. A petition to the Crown requesting that such a change should be made was denounced by the Provincial Magistrates as seditious, and its supposed author was arrested and condemned for violating the statute making it a penal offence to speak disrespectfully of the Government and its officers. To this was added by the non-Quakers a protest against a statute passed in 1700, substituting a new form of test in the room of that which had heretofore been in force by virtue of the Toleration Act, by which the Quakers here were granted a toleration which did not exist in England. All these measures were protested against by the vestry of Christ Church as an invasion of what they called their religious rights as members of the Church of England. They sent a second time a petition to the Privy Council by Colonel Quarry, asking that some remedy for their grievances should be found. So great was the influence of this then feeble Church with the Imperial authorities, that they were again led to interpose, and orders were sent out here in 1702 requiring that hereafter all persons who wished to celebrate their worship publicly or to hold any office under the Provincial Government without exposing themselves to the law

PROPOSED EAST WINDOW

against non-conformity, should be obliged to make a declaration of fidelity and allegiance to the sovereign and to take the Test; that is, make a declaration of their disbelief in certain Roman Catholic Dogmas in the exact form provided by the Toleration Act. There was at first considerable hesitation here in taking this Test, not that there was any objection to the doctrines it avowed, but the objections were as to the form of the affirmation required. The Assembly was induced in 1705, by what influence I have never been able clearly to understand, to embody in a statute provisions requiring all persons in the Province to qualify themselves for taking any office by taking and subscribing the Test and affirming their belief in the Declaration as an indispensable qualification before assuming its duties. This Act, which is simply a copy of the English Toleration Act, remained in force up to the time of the Revolution, and it seems to have settled the vexed question how far any one could go astray from the orthodoxy required by the Imperial Government and yet hold office, by pleading that another standard had been set up by the Assembly of the Province. The policy which provided that these Tests should prevail in Pennsylvania was in strict imitation of the widest form of toleration then known in England. If we wish to trace the influence of Christ Church on the lay element during the Provincial era, not only here but in England, we cannot do better than consider carefully the part that she took in this otherwise profitless controversy, and for that reason I have called attention to these long-forgotten quarrels. I have alluded to them here only because they jeopardized the existence of the Proprietary Government.

At this time (1705) the congregation consisted of about five hundred members, and the number of persons in the Province who were Episcopalians was constantly increasing. Mission Churches were established at Chester, Oxford, Radnor, New Castle and Dover, which were served by clergymen sent out by the Venerable Society. And as they secured a firmer footing in the Province, the fear which had oppressed the earliest members of the Church that they would perish from their own weak-

ness, gave way to a more hopeful spirit. Still, as late as 1718, the friends of the Church, both here and in England, endeavored to persuade Sir William Keith, the most popular of the Proprietary Governors, and the one least inclined to stretch his prerogative, to make an effort to secure permanent legal support for the Church. His answer tells the whole story in a single sentence. "I agree with you," he says, "that the Church should be endowed by the Province, but what can I do for such an object with an Assembly composed of twenty-five Quakers and three Churchmen?"

As time passed on the controversial spirit became less bitter, and indeed differences of opinion grew less marked as people knew each other better. Churchmen became less exclusive and welcomed here in this Church the ministrations of the Swedish Lutheran clergyman who had charge of the Swedish Mission here. For many years the services of the Church were in charge at different times of Rudman, Sandel, Lidman, Hesselius and Lindenius, who were recognized as in full communion with the Church of England, although they had been ordained by the Archbishop of Upsal and not by the English Bishops. As one remarkable result of this fraternal spirit, and as illustrating how the influence of this Church extended beyond its borders, I may remind you that four churches originally Swedish in this State, one in Delaware and one in New Jersey, became, at different times, by the almost unanimous vote of their congregations, constituent members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

In speaking of the influence of the members of this congregation on public affairs during the Provincial era, I must not forget to claim for some of them the great honor of having been the founders and the early guardians of the College and Academy of Philadelphia. Dr. Franklin, who first conceived the plan of this establishment, and sought with characteristic vigor to organize it by securing money for its endowment and selecting its professors, was a pewholder in this Church, although he disclaimed any intention of making the College a Church institution. He preferred that in a Province such as this, it should

rest upon what was called in those days the "broad bottom," that is, that it should be independent of the control of any Church or denomination. But when he looked around for those who would appreciate and support his project, he was obliged to take from this Congregation mainly the men of education and of means who would aid him. His first choice for Rector or Head Master of the Academy was the Rev. Richard Peters, one of the most scholarly men in the Province, who had long held the important place of Secretary of the Land Office and afterwards for nearly ten years was the Rector of Christ Church. Finding it impossible to induce Mr. Peters to accept the place, he made the final choice of Rev. William Smith, a man of indomitable energy, of very considerable learning and of great organizing power. Mr. Smith was an Episcopal clergyman of high reputation, and, as far as a man in his position could be, he was a member of this Congregation. He gave life and vigor to the skeleton plan which Dr. Franklin had sketched out. His experience as a teacher and his various learning led him afterwards into paths where Dr. Franklin could not follow him, yet his scheme of college education, in accordance with the universal judgment of scholars, for more than a hundred years formed the true model for the liberal training of young men in this country. He induced the Trustees of the Academy, shortly after his induction, to solicit from the Proprietaries a charter for a College, and, this obtained, he established as a means of instruction in this institution a *curriculum* of studies which formed the basis of education afterwards followed by every college in this country professing to give a liberal training to young men. The result of the life and vigor which he had infused into the College which he had created, was, in the opinion of the late Dr. George Wood, such, that in a short time this College, founded by two of your members, "was perhaps unrivalled and certainly not surpassed by any seminary at that time existing in the Provinces." And I may add, that had it escaped from the mischievous designs of unscrupulous politicians during the Revolution, and had its affairs since that era always been managed with the same self-sacrificing devotion and fidelity to its

interests exhibited by its Trustees before that change, it would doubtless today occupy the same proud pre-eminence. Of the Trustees previous to the Revolution nearly four-fifths were members of this Congregation, and this was the period when its work was most active and the demands on their enlightened care incessant. Mr. Peters, the Rector of the Church, was for many years the President of the Board, and the Trustees, agreeing with Dr. Smith as to the plan of education which had been adopted, and disagreeing wholly, much to his chagrin, with that urged by Dr. Franklin, supported fully their Provost, not only in all his efforts for the promotion of higher education here, but in all the various trials and difficulties into which his eager and impetuous temper led him. Dr. Smith was a strict Churchman for those days, as were doubtless the majority of the Trustees of the College, but they ever maintained its original design by selecting as its professors men who represented the various denominations in the city. One of the more immediate good results of the establishment of this College, was the training of men who occupied a prominent position as ministers of Christ Church at the outbreak of the Revolution. William White, Jacob Duché and Thomas Coombe were all graduates of the College of Philadelphia and received their training from Dr. Smith.

Between the years 1740 and 1756 there was perpetual fear of war and an invasion of this Province by the Indians and French, who had formed what was intended to be a permanent alliance, and had established themselves on the line between Pittsburgh and Lake Erie. The object of the invasion on the part of the French was supposed by many who thought themselves wise, to be part of a systematic scheme to subjugate the English colonists on the borders of the Atlantic, in this and other Provinces; to make them dependencies of France, and, worse than all, to force, by persecution, the inhabitants to become Roman Catholics. However chimerical all these fears may appear to us now, there is no doubt of the reality of the anxiety and apprehension which they excited at the time. To the intensity of the desire to make some adequate military prep-

aration to defend themselves, was added the natural dread of contending with such a nation as France, when no means of defence had been made ready, as well as a special horror of the practices of the savage and inhuman warfare of the Indians. Those who had now combined against us were the descendants of those whom William Penn on his arrival had found so friendly —the Delawares and the Shawnees, who had been made desperate by the cruel and fraudulent appropriation of their lands by his successors. Gentle as lambs when the white man first came among them, they had become fiends now, as all the accounts of their cruel massacres of the inhabitants clearly showed. The settlers in the territory exposed to these ravages called loudly upon the Government for protection and succor. Although the deepest sympathy was expressed on all hands for their unfortunate condition, no troops were sent to defend them, owing to the quarrel between the Governor and the Assembly as to the best mode by which the soldiers and the money for their support should be raised. The Governor, to state the nature of the controversy in a single sentence, urged that a Militia Bill, which should enroll as many of the able-bodied men of the Province as might be needed, should be passed, and that a tax should be levied for their pay and equipment from which the immense private estates of the Proprietaries should be exempted; while the Assembly contended that the necessary force should be raised by a voluntary enlistment, and that loans should be issued to raise money, to be reimbursed by general taxation, for the maintenance of the troops. For many years this wearisome and profitless struggle continued and nothing was done in the way of defence of the frontier or to avert the threatened danger of invasion. The Governor and the Proprietary party insisted that the refusal to adopt his suggestions was owing to conscientious scruples on the part of the Quakers about making war, but so untrue was this charge that the Assembly, goaded into action by Braddock's defeat in July, 1755, consented at last to exempt the estates of the Proprietaries from taxation, in consideration of a gift by them to the Province of five thousand pounds, and established a chain of forts from the Delaware to

the Maryland frontier along the Allegheny Mountains, garrisoned by a body of volunteers, Provincial troops, who for a long time effectually guarded the threatened districts. In this controversy the larger number of the member of this congregation sided with the Proprietary party, having convinced themselves that no Assembly in which the Quakers had a majority of the votes would, under any circumstances, adopt warlike measures. They went so far on this account as to join with the Presbyterians, who had suffered most severely from the Indian raids after Braddock's defeat, in a petition to the Crown, being the third time in which they had made the same application, asking that Quakers should not be permitted hereafter to sit as members of the Assembly. Their action must be attributed to a deeprooted delusion on the subject, which then prevailed here, and which perhaps the professed principles of the Quakers had done much to foster, and to the natural anxiety which they felt to prevent the possibility of the recurrence of a neglect of the safety of the Province.

But during the years of danger which threatened their safety, when the account from the West told of little but of Indian outrages and French victories and marches eastward, the conduct of this congregation was marked by a manliness and courage and readiness to make sacrifices for the safety of the Province, worthy of all praise as an example, and to which those who succeed them here may point with becoming pride. They were taught from this pulpit the Christian duty of warfare in defending themselves. Dr. Smith tells us that in this crisis he preached here no less than eight military sermons, as he calls them, and we may be quite sure that in them the duty of defending their lives and their homes from a French and Indian invasion was duly inculcated. We may be also certain from what we know of the membership of Christ Church at that time, that the men on whom the Governor most fully depended at that critical time for the safety of the Province, were to be found among those who gathered here to worship God. The military spirit which prevailed in the congregation was so marked that, in 1758, at the opening of the campaign of that year General

Forbes, commander of the army in this Province, could find no better means of rousing the military ardor of the inhabitants than by asking Dr. Smith to denounce here once more the horrible cruelties which his army was sent to avenge.

During the eventful years (1740-1756) in which the Province was forced to defend itself from the incursions of the Indians to the westward, none of the inhabitants who formed social organizations were more zealous and steady in upholding the hands of those to whom were committed the safety, honor and welfare of the people of this Province, than the members of this congregation. Opinions might differ, and doubtless often did, among them in regard to the righteousness of the conduct of the agents of the Government in their treatment of the Indians, but when these savages determined to wreak their vengeance by an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants, the law which Churchmen invoked was that of self-defence. At that time the members of Christ Church succored the distressed inhabitants west of the Susquehanna by timely gifts, and they urged the immediate necessity of raising money and men to protect them, profiting by the lessons which they had learned, as I have stated, from this pulpit as to the clear duty of the citizen and the Christian. At that time the special interest which the members of this Church could feel as Episcopalians in the sufferings of those exposed to Indian assaults was centered in a feeble mission of the Venerable Society, of which the headquarters were at Carlisle. But the sympathy exhibited by them in this city for the victims of savage cruelty was not bounded by any such narrow frontier. Judging from the names attached to a petition to the Crown in 1756, praying that hereafter no non-resistant Quaker should be permitted to hold a seat in the Assembly, the members of this congregation were the most determined of those who were willing to undergo any revolutionary change in government which would guarantee that the white population of the Province should be duly protected.

There were many officers, members and pew-holders in Christ Church in the regiments raised by the government of the Province for service during the French and Indian wars.

General James Irvine, who was a prominent member of this congregation, and is traditionally remembered from his always appearing clad in mourning on Good Friday, began his military career as an officer in Bouquet's expedition for the recapture of Fort Duquesne, and was during the Revolution an officer of high rank in the Pennsylvania Line. Among others, we find the well-known names of Colonels Thomas Lawrence, Edward Jones and Turbutt Francis; of Lieut.-Colonels Thomas Yorke and James Coultas; of Major Samuel McCall; of Captain Thomas Bond; of Lieutenants Lynford Lardner, William Bingham, Atwood Shute, James Claypoole and Plunket Fleeson.

It is not to be forgotten that the social position of many of the members of this Parish (the united Churches of Christ and St. Peter's) gave them an influence out of all proportion with their numbers. It is true, of course, that in the provincial era the laymen of this Church were, generally speaking, of the Proprietary party, and had supported the war measures of that party; but when they found that the government of the Province had become that of a deputy, without whose consent no legislation could be enacted, and who was bound in his acts to obey the instructions of the Proprietaries in England, and who was in no way responsible to the people of the Province for them, they joined with other parties in the Assembly in unanimously declaring, in 1763, that pretensions such as these were as dangerous to the prerogatives of the Crown as they were to the liberties of the people. Proprietary men as they were supposed to be, they had no hesitation in praying the King, for the fourth time, with Dr. Franklin, in 1764, that he would resume the government of the Province and that the Proprietary system should be abolished.

The signs of the times became more portentous after the enactment of the Stamp Act of 1765, and it soon became apparent that there would be as much opposition here on the part of the Churchmen to Imperial misgovernment, as there had been to the arbitrary pretensions of the Governors. Indeed, it is hardly worth proving that during these perilous times all classes of people in Pennsylvania, resistants and non-resistants alike,

protested against the Ministerial measures. The members of this congregation, in common with their fellow-citizens of other beliefs, remonstrated against the Stamp Act and the Tea Act, as well as against the Boston Port Bill and other measures intended to punish the town of Boston; they all signed the Non-importation and the Non-exportation Agreements; they all petitioned the Crown to guarantee the right of self-government; they determined to maintain the fundamental rights of the colonies; they warned the Ministry that armed resistance would be made to further encroachments, and they did not hesitate to vote for raising men and money for the defence of the Province after the battle of Lexington. Yet with all this, they never ceased to hope that some peaceful settlement of the dispute might be made and that no violent separation from the Mother Country would take place. As the crisis of the Revolution approached, the opinions held by the congregation as to the course they would take, are best expressed in the letter of their clergy to the Bishop of London. In this letter, dated June 30, 1775, the clergy of this parish, Messrs. Richard Peters, Jacob Duché, Thomas Coombe, William Stringer and William White, join with Dr. Smith, the Provost of the College, in saying to the Bishop of London, "All that we can do is to pray for such a settlement and to pursue those principles of moderation and reason which your Lordship has always recommended to us. We have neither interest nor consequence sufficient to take any great lead in the affairs of this great country. The people will feel and judge for themselves in matters affecting their own civil happiness, and were we capable of any attempt which might have the appearance of drawing them to what they think would be a slavish resignation of their rights, it would be destructive to ourselves as well as to the Church of which we are ministers. But it is but justice to our superiors, and to your Lordship in particular, to declare that such conduct has never been required of us. Indeed, could it possibly be required, we are not backward to say that our consciences would not permit us to injure the rights of the country. We are to leave our families in it, and cannot but consider its inhabitants entitled, as well as their

brethren in England, to the right of granting their own money; and that every attempt to deprive them of this right will either be found abortive in the end or attended with evils which would infinitely outweigh all the benefits to be obtained by it. Such being our persuasion, we must again declare it to be our constant prayer, in which we are sure that your Lordship joins, that the hearts of good and benevolent men in both countries may be directed towards a plan of reconciliation worthy of being offered by a great nation that have long been the patrons of freedom throughout the world, and not unworthy of being accepted by a people sprung from them and by birth claiming a participation in their rights."

The sentiments frankly expressed in this letter were not merely those of the clergy of Christ Church, but it voiced doubtless the opinion of its lay members, as well as that of a large circle of friends not of their religious faith, but within the sphere of their influence. In a community such as Philadelphia then was, it is not easy to overestimate the power derived from the common opinion on a momentous question of its foremost citizens. Men like William Bingham, Richard Bache, Benjamin Chew, John Cadwalader, Gerardus Clarkson, Redmond Conyngham, Manuel Eyre, Michael Hillegas, Archibald McCall, Charles Meredith, Edmund Physick, William Plumstead, Samuel Powel, Edward Shippen, Richard and Thomas Willing, never speak in vain. These are names as familiar to those who have passed a long life in Philadelphia as household words, and those who bore them were all members of the congregation of Christ Church. This letter to the Bishop of London doubtless reveals that feeling of mingled defiance and dread with which they viewed the approach of the Revolution.

Of these clergymen of the Church here, it may be said that Messrs. White and Duché became afterwards chaplains of the Continental Congress, and that Dr. Smith urged, in a powerful sermon delivered before Colonel Cadwalader's regiment of Volunteer Associators in this Church, the right and duty of armed resistance if the grievances complained of were not redressed. At that time (the early period of the Revolution)

it is hardly necessary to say that there was no question of independence, for no public man in Pennsylvania, within or without Christ Church, had advocated such a measure. When the time arrived when it was thought necessary by Congress to proclaim our independence, no less than three of the signers of that immortal instrument, Franklin, Robert Morris and Hopkinson, were found to be pew-holders in this Church. And on the very day on which that great charter of a new nation was signed, it was agreed by the vestry and clergy of this Church that the long-familiar prayer for the King and the Royal Family should thenceforth be omitted from the service. In short, in no quarter was the action of the Assembly of the State and of Congress dissolving our allegiance to Great Britian more loyally obeyed than in this Church, to which kings and queens in happier days had been loving nursing fathers and nursing mothers.

With the close of the Revolution that direct and peculiar influence of Christ Church upon the lay element in Philadelphia, which, during the Provincial era, had been so characteristic a feature of its corporate life, in a great measure ceased. Whether this was due to changes which then brought into power men of a very different social position and very different political ideas from those who had governed this community in former days, I will not stop to inquire. Whatever may have been the cause, there can be no doubt in the mind of any student of our history that Quakers and Episcopalians, the foremost citizens of the Province, however faithful they may have been to the changes produced by the Revolution, lost their prestige and political leadership in the Commonwealth created by it.

Thenceforth Christ Church entered upon a new era, and devoted herself to the propagation exclusively of that special form of Christianity of which she had been the recognized representative here. Under the guidance of that wise, discreet, revered and saintly man who was then her Rector and was soon afterwards to become the chief pastor of this diocese, she became in a very important sense, *omnium ecclesiarum mater et caput.*

Bishop White, I need not say, was not only a great Churchman, but he was a great citizen also. From the stormy days of the Revolution, when he taught Congress that resistance to oppression is a religious duty; from the day in which in his study in St. Peter's house in this city he outlined a plan for the Federal Union of the Church, down to the day when he was laid at rest under the chancel of this Church, the great work of his life was, so to speak, the naturalization of the order and discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church under its new conditions in this country. What measure of success attended his efforts it is not my province to speak of, but I may venture to affirm that the Church in this country can never be too grateful for what she owes to his wisdom and sagacity. He is the great link which binds the past to the present. He was the champion of all that is true and noble and inspiring in the history of that form of Christianity of which he was here the chief minister, and to no wiser hands could the great task of adapting that historical and venerable form of ecclesiastical polity to our present need have been confided than to his.

I count it as one of the happiest recollections of my youth that I should have been permitted to see Bishop White in the last year of his life, not robed in his canonical vestments nor surrounded by those things calculated to impress a boyish imagination with the dignity of his position, but walking these streets in the ordinary dress of a clergyman of that day. His tall, spare figure, his costume, that of a gentleman of the old school, the broadbrimmed hat which half concealed his flowing white locks, his ample coat, his short clothes, his long stockings and buckled shoes, and his stout walking staff—all these things made him truly venerable in my eyes and produced an impression which the lapse of sixty years has not removed. As he passed along, supported on the arm of his grandson, I remember that I looked upon him, as I had ever been taught to regard him, as the last of the Revolutionary patriots. To those who met him and knew anything of his history and character, he was the type and exemplar of that pure and lofty doctrine which he had preached all his life. His perfect sincerity, his genuine

Bishop White—Aged 88

simplicity, his boundless charity of act and opinion towards those who differed from him, caused him to be recognized, as was well said by a distinguished divine of another communion than his, as "truly the Bishop of us all."

With such a history and with such personages serving as illustrations of it, Christ Church is not merely a temple where men have met during the last two hundred years to worship God after the manner of their fathers, but it is also one of the brightest jewels in the mural crown of this godly city. Here men have been taught during all that long period, not merely their duty to God, but also to consecrate the service of their lives to the welfare of their fellow-men, and especially to that of our own community and Commonwealth. As we recall the names of its members who in times past, amidst trials and obstacles of all sorts, have done their duty, while doing the State some service, may we emulate their example, never failing to heed the voice of God and our country when it calls upon us for work and self-sacrifice.

The Washington Sanctuary

The Washington Sanctuary

The Source of His Power

Of the multitudes who for two centuries and more have been bred and fed spiritually here, it is natural and right that one should stand out pre-eminent, "first in the hearts of his countrymen." Washington towers so above his fellows in worth and work that the average pilgrim asks first, if not alone, to see the Washington Pew.

Innumerable spots with which he was more or less intimately identified claim the reverent attention of all hero worshippers. Next to Mt. Vernon there is no place where he lived more fully than here in Philadelphia; and no building here meant so much to him as that in which during the seven years of his residence as the Chief Executive of the Nation he regularly kept rendezvous with his God.

Artists and others have made us familiar with the details of his frequentings of these courts. Perhaps the most vivid picture was drawn by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell in his entertaining volume, The Red City. The deep and vitalizing significance of the memories awakened here mean much to many.

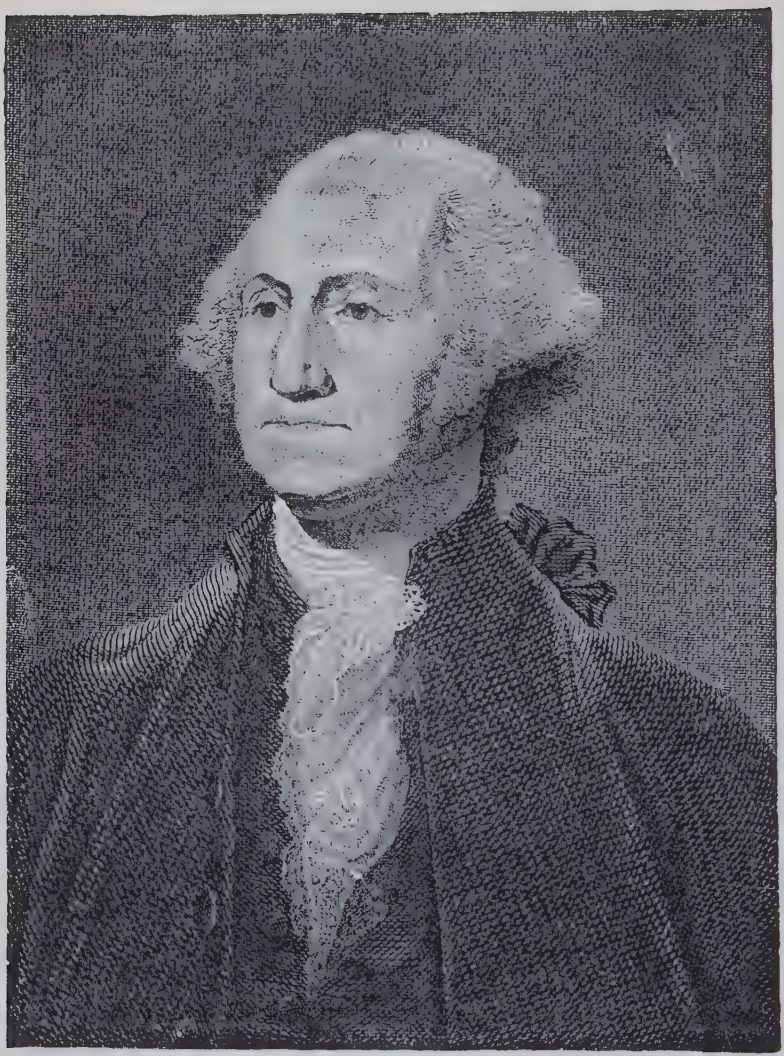
One and another of his anniversaries are regularly observed by patriot groups. The Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution celebrate his Going into Winter Quarters at Valley Forge on the Sunday nearest to December nineteenth each year. With elaborate decorations, festival music, with friends representing other orders, preceded by their Color Guard, who reverently dip the handsome standards at the altar before and after the ceremonies, the dignified body kneels in the historic pews, rises to unite in singing the national hymns, sounds Taps on the bugle after the reading of the Roster of the dead for the year, and hears an interpretation of the character of Washington and its continuing summons. It was on such an occasion in 1909 that the Rector delivered the following discourse:

"Strengthened with all might, according to His glorious power, unto all patience and longsuffering with joyfulness."—Col. i : II.

This hallowed fabric has been associated with various epochs in the life of the people of this land. In the days of the founders of this commonwealth, and a century later in the period of the Revolution, and again (after the lapse of nearly a second century) during our Civil War, great principles found advocacy here, great movements received impetus and direction here, and here men of leadership caught inspiration and guidance. The spirit of God has poured into and issued from this sanctuary with purging and constructive power in political and civil affairs, in ecclesiastical and religious interests, and in social movements, as well as in the inner reaches of personal character. "Lest we forget" it is indeed well to revive the memories of such a national fount of influence. In welcoming the Sons of the Revolution on this biennial pilgrimage you will permit me to say that it is a peculiar gratification to have such a group of mindful citizens gather here in commemoration of such a significant revolutionary event as the Going into Winter Quarters at Valley Forge. Let us utilize the opportunity to the real profit of this "land where our fathers died."

The text chosen not only voices a godly admonition of universal cogency that in order to walk worthily men individually and collectively may be, nay, must be, strengthened with all might, according to His glorious power, unto all patience and long suffering with joyfulness. But when read with a recollection of the writer and his experiences the vigorous sentiment seems to me to furnish the indispensable key to the true interpretation of the signal event we would recall this afternoon.

As you run down the bede-roll of the historic leaders of men, can you indicate any one of wider, nobler and more enduring influence in human affairs than Paul of Tarsus? And what was the essential secret of his conquest of kingdoms within himself and among his followers, contemporary and of



G. Washington

generations since? He lets us into it a little in our text; it is worth thinking about briefly, by way of introduction. Every man of power is fired by some consuming passion. With St. Paul it was not fear, nor yet greed of any sort, but love—such love as enabled him to sing, as none else ever sang, that matchless rhapsody in I Cor. 13. A virile, manful, mastering, adoring devotion to his personal Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. And in this age, which is perhaps over fond of analytical criticism, it is instructive to note how this informing and energizing passion of St. Paul *expanded,* until it reached its climax in claiming the martyr's crown.

We can trace the gradual development of it as we read in their historical order those self-revealing epistles of his, which because of this very characteristic have been happily styled his "love-letters." Each in its place is, as it were, a milestone in the progress of the unfolding and the illumination of his love of God. For while the Christ vision that flashed upon him on the Damascan highway won at once and completely the full-flamed ardor of his whole being; yet that engrossing love developed, through recognizable stages, to a complete comprehension of its object—the adorable person of Jesus Christ. A penetrating student of the inspired writings has bidden us note how that Christ was to him first the object who is coming, then the object that is already in the *soul,* then the object that gives strength for the *world,* and, lastly, the object which has glorified the things once deemed insignificant and trivial; and, he adds, this history of love's enlargement in Paul is identical with the history of its enlargement in you and me.

We cannot here attempt to even outline the several steps in this development in St. Paul. We are concerned here and now simply to have you observe the third stage in it, and to mark that, paradoxically enough, its birthplace was within the walls of a prison. It was there, bound and walled in, that there came to him not the crushing sense of personal defeat, nor numbing despair over the cause of which he was the leader, but, on the contrary, a larger and truer realization of Him with whom he was in love. As if by an opening in the heavens

there was revealed to him a wider empire of the Son of Man. He was no longer merely the King of saints; he was the King of kings—the Head of principalities and powers. All kingdoms were Christ's kingdoms; all history was Church history; all events among the nations were events in the sphere of religion. He began to trace His hand in the powers called natural—in the field of politics, in the arena of war, in the domain of literature, and in the forum of human eloquence. There dawned upon him the conviction that if Christ was the Head of the State, then in the service of the State, a man might well feel that he was performing mission work. The politician in the very pursuit of his politics, the senator in the very exercise of his art, the soldier in the very act of defending his country, might claim to be evangelists. Such (as Dr. Mathewson reminds us) was the enrichment that came to St. Paul through the apparent calamity of his imprisonment, and that discloses itself in the letters he wrote from his cell, and that explains and is illustrated by the dauntless demand he makes upon the Colossian disciples to walk worthily, "strengthened with all might, according to His glorious power, unto all patience and long suffering with joyfulness."

And this is not an isolated outburst of exceptional emotion. Those prison letters are full of this energizing confidence; "in nothing terrified by your enemies." "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." "The things which happened unto me have fallen out rather into the furtherance of the gospel," and more in similar vein. There is not a note of despair through them all; not even of blind resignation, nor yet of weariness nor complaintfulness; nor, on the other hand, is it the unreasoning pugnacity of the wild enthusiast; it is rather the absolute trust in Him he loves; confidence that His strength will be made perfect in weakness, and that He who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, will eventually present to himself a glorious church not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing.

And so the apprehension and jailing of the Apostle, which in the world's opinion doubtless was at the least a discrediting calamity to him, and a staggering blow to the timid Christian society, proved the rather "according to his glorious power," an occasion of spiritual growth to the man personally; and yet further by the contagion of his example an unwonted zeal and consecration spread from heart to heart, until the whole group of the faithful instead of dwindling into leaderless inefficiency rose up "according to his glorious power" and preached the glad tidings of the kingdom as never before. The story of the evangelization of that generation reads like fiction—save that truth is ever stranger than fiction. And the secret of those wonderful missionary results was just this; that the young Church was not content simply to send out an occasional minister and to take an infrequent collection for him, but each and every disciple went out and exhausted his every faculty in sharing the good news of Christ crucified and risen. The test of a man's Christianity was his sacrifice in winning others; and the indomitable apostolic prisoner was the personality that animated them to it. Crush the pungent plant and the odor permeates the house. As ever, man's extremity was God's opportunity. And in due course the man and the cause won out.

Brethren, we need more of this Pauline spirit in the religious life of America today. Is spiritual leadership amongst us imprisoned? Does the sacred cause seem threatened at times with suppression or enfeeblement? Then watch for the hidden workings of God himself, and utter yourself in completer devotion. Is there talk of the alienation of the masses from the churches, of the estrangement of scholars because of the contradictions of science and criticism, of the lack of candidates for the ministry, and other sinister omens? Then lift up your eyes unto the hills from whence cometh our help, and fail not to note the movings of the Omnipotent Spirit. As Advent reminds us, Christ is coming in richer measure into all departments of human life; and organized Christianity is more effective than ever as the agency to bring him near. Cynicism is an

anachronism today. Materialism is out of date. The observed characteristic of this twentieth century is its idealism. There is a revival of philosophy amongst us; men are recognizing that analysis is not all; Jesus is at the very heart of the growing democracy; men of brains and force are finding fullest play for all their faculties in the quests of His kingdom; a new zeal and a richer consecration are ennobling life.

Loud mockers in the roaring street
Say Christ is crucified again;
Twice pierced His gospel-bearing feet,
Twice broken His great heart in vain.

I hear, and to myself I smile,
For Christ talks to me all the while.

And the call to you and me, as inheritors of the past, is to walk worthily, "strengthened with all might, according to His glorious power, unto all patience and long suffering with joyfulness."

This Pauline spirit which we have been considering furnishes, as I see it, the true interpretation of that which is so eminently worthy of commemoration in the experiences at Valley Forge. If one stops to inquire why you have chosen this incident out of the many notable revolutionary events as the one on the anniversary of which you are to make your reverent pilgrimages to this shrine, it is scarcely convincing to say that it most readily suggests a jubilant holiday; for surely the popular thought of that bleak camp is chiefly concerned with the memory of its grim and terrible sufferings, marking the low tide of the colonists' cause; nor is it satisfying to explain that its choice is due to the fact that the scene was located in Pennsylvania, for how many other memorable incidents, martial victories, legislative triumphs, epochal transactions, dates associated with the great leaders, fall within Pennsylvania's noble record? Nor will anyone be content with the prosaic excuse that the anniversary occurs at an opportune season in the year. Certain great historic events repeat their

own story, as it were, automatically, each recurring year; and the heart of the people catches and responds to their message unaided. Others, of equal or surpassing consequence, have their real import so veiled with distracting circumstances as to call for interpretation if succeeding generations are to feel their thrill and translate their lessons into present patriotism. It is so with Valley Forge. And I congratulate you upon having selected it to be thus signalized by your festival service. For it has a meaning far too precious to be forgotten, and presents a challenge far too vital to be missed as years roll by.

In a very real sense the great commander of our disorganized little army was there bound and shut in, as truly as was St. Paul in his prison; and the glorious cause he headed was then to all appearances well-nigh hopeless. Yet there was in him such an abiding conviction that the Almighty himself was back of the uprising, and such a devout trust that however "God moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform," yet He was then and there patiently working His purpose out, that his loving loyalty never faltered and his leadership became resistless. And how amply did the issue justify him!

The picture of it all has been drawn by many a pen. It glows from the page of both history and fiction. Right vividly was it sketched in the centennial oration by Henry Armitt Brown, which, by the way, ought to be reprinted. Recall its chief features. The close of 1777 marked the gloomiest period of the Revolution. The novelty of war had gone, and its terrors became awfully familiar. Fire and sword had devastated some of the best parts of the country; its cities were ruined, its fields laid waste, its resources drained, its best blood poured out in sacrifice. The strife now had become one of endurance, and while liberty and independence seemed as far off as ever, men began to appreciate the tremendous cost at which they were to be purchased. The capture of Burgoyne had, after all, been only a temporary check to an unexhausted enemy. While a few hundred ill-armed, half-clad Americans essayed to guard the Highlands of the Hudson, a well equipped

garrison several thousand strong lived in luxury in the City of New York. The British fleet watched with the eyes of Argus the rebel coast. Rhode Island lay undisputed in their hands; Georgia, Virginia and the Carolinas were open to their invasion, and as incapable of defence as Maryland had been when they landed in the Chesapeake. Drawn upon for the army, the sparse population could not half till the soil, and the savings of laborious years had all been spent. The improvised money was nearly valueless. Want began to be widely felt, and the frequent proclamations of the British, accompanied with Tory intrigue and abundant gold, were having effect. To some, even the wisest, the case was desperate.

It was at such a time, and after the bitter disappointment of Germantown, while the invading army, 19,500 strong, of veteran troops, perfectly equipped, freshly recruited from Europe and flushed with victory, took possession of the chief city of the new nation, that Washington with his eleven thousand half-clothed, half-armed, hungry Continentals, led his straggling troops, chilled on the frozen ridges of Whitemarsh, through the valley in the blinding snow to unimagined privations on the inhospitable slopes of Valley Forge. No martial music keeps time to their weary steps, no welcoming salute greets them, none save the dull tramp of their bleeding feet on the sharp earth. In the cheerless forest they must seek refuge. Perils soon assault them, more threatening than any they have yet encountered. Trials that rarely have failed to break the fortitude of men await them there. False friends shall endeavor to undermine their virtue, and secret enemies to shake their faith; the congress whom they serve shall prove impotent to provide for them; and their country herself seem unmindful of their needs; disease shall infect their huts by day, and famine stand guard with them through the night, the while the pitiless storms of winter shall beat upon them. Until within the six months of the encampment 3000 should perish—an impressive register, when it is recalled that in the twenty-six principal engagements of the entire Revolution the number of killed and wounded was but some 9000.

And what shall be said of him who bears on his heart the weight of it all? With characteristic foresight he has selected this wilderness retreat. Turn to him in his simple headquarters, his brain and hand never at rest, his pen ever flowing with unflagging sagacity; now counselling with Green how to clothe and feed the men; or with Steuben how to reorganize the service; now writing to Howe about exchanges, or to Livingston about the exchange of prisoners, or to Clinton about supplies, or to Congress about enlistments or finances or the French alliance; opposing foolish and rash counsels today, urging prompt and vigorous policies tomorrow; now calming the jealousies of the Congress about enlistments or finances or the French alliance; now answering the complaints of the civil authority, and now those of the starving soldiers, whose suffering he shares; and by his valiant cheer heartening both; overcoming with steadfast rectitude the intrigues of such enemies as the Conway Cabal; bearing criticism with patience and calumny with dignity, and, lest his country should suffer, answering both only with plans for her defense, of which others are to reap the glory; guarding the long coast with ceaseless vigilance, and watching with sleepless eye a chance to strike the enemy in front a blow; a soldier subordinating the military to the civil power; a dictator as mindful of the rights of Tories as of the wrongs of Whigs; a statesman commanding a revolutionary army; a patriot forgetful of nothing but himself; this is he whose extraordinary virtues only have kept the army from disbanding, and saved his country's cause. Such was George Washington at Valley Forge. Such a character and career illustrate:

That rare track made by great ones, lone and beaten,
    Through solitary hours,
Climbing past fear and fate and sin, iron-eaten,
    To godlier powers;
A road of lonely morn and midnight, sloping
    O'er earth's dim bars;
Where out at last the soul, life's pinnacles topping,
    Stands with the stars.

Of him it would seem the poet speaks who sings:

> One thing makes the years its pedestal,
> Spring from the ashes of its pyre, and claps
> A skyward wing above its epitaph—
> The will of man willing immortal things.
> The ages are but baubles hung upon
> The thread of some strong lives, and one slight wrist
> May lift a century above the dust.

How like St. Paul in prison he was! And do we not miss the secret of his exalted character and influence in such surroundings, unless we trace it, as in his elder Christian brother and prototype, to his comprehending love of God; his calm recognition of the hand of Providence in history; his unswerving confidence that all the while these very trials were being divinely used as the implements with which to construct the ark of human liberty?

There were more than earthly powers in motion that dread winter; influencing Frederick of Prussia to forbid troops hired in the other German States to cross Prussian territory to serve the English in America, and impelling French and even German and Polish officers, too, to volunteer for service in our army. He is short-sighted, indeed, who discovers not the hand of the Over Lord operating diverse agencies there and here, through that dreary testing time, till with the coming of spring the wavering populace was roused to renewed resistance by the barbarities of the Hessians, the crude government was reanimated by the alliances Franklin had won abroad, and the little army had been drilled and compacted into a formidable body of veterans. To the great commander there, in the camp woods, at night, alone, kneeling in the snow in communion with his heavenly Father (to whom the welfare of the human brotherhood is ever dear), visions of hope were not lacking. Can we doubt but that he saw the cause in which he was enlisted, as the cause of the very Christ himself; and that he caught at least distant glimpses of how the King of kings was guiding it to His splendid goal? And so was he

The Chapel—Pine Street

"strengthened with all might, according to God's glorious power, unto all patience and long suffering with joyfulness."

Thus interpreted, brother men, Valley Forge becomes a veritable epic written in heaven, and enacted heroically in that rugged amphitheatre. And so does it come to us, in this year of grace, on this its one hundred and thirty-second anniversary, oh, so worthy of our reverent commemoration in this holy place.

And as thus we recall it all how the challenge summons us to perpetuate, with that self-same spirit of Paul and Washington, the priceless blessings thus won and enshrined in this American commonwealth. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. The days of prosperity have been more destructive to the nations of earth than have the days of adversity. It is possible to prove but the degenerate offspring of heroic sires; vainly vaunting our descent, garnishing the tombs of historic patriots, and with petty captiousness stoning their present successors in civic affairs. A commercialized generation, which (as Prof. James caustically asserts) is scared to death of poverty, may be so tainted with lawless greed that its very legal advisers may succumb to the temptation to exhaust their abilities to get around the constitution that favored industries may inordinately fatten. We may be so engrossed glorying in our splendid inheritance of civil and religious freedom and universal suffrage that we shall be dangerously deaf in a regime of multiplying corporations to the current demand, for an equitable sharing of industrial prosperity; as Justice Grosscup phrases it, that what men individually contribute from year to year shall be made to tell, in an advancing individual share, in what the country is achieving from year to year. A society with an insatiable thirst for pleasure and luxury may debase its hard-won liberties into self-indulgent license, and reel from the stage in enervating sensualism.

It is the Christian optimist cherishing the reasoned conviction that this grey world is steadily being won to Christ who yet discerns such signs of the times, and who summons contemporary patriots, as they love these beautiful flags, to

rally to their defence. For surely we long to keep the Anglo-Saxon peoples continuingly meet for the Master's use on this planet. We glance backward, and note how He has been advancing human civilization by utilizing first one race and then another—the Hebrews with their genius for religion, the Greeks with their philosophies, and the Romans with their law and order—and how that when each has made its contribution he has ushered in its successor. We rejoice as we dwell upon the rich record of what he has permitted the English-speaking folk to add. But it behooves us to face frankly the question: Is our type of civilization destined to be the ultimate —even in this continent? Contemplating our enormous immigration, may we not well ask: Which is to be the next dominant race? Oriental, African, or what? At least there is somewhat we can do to extend the lease of our own cherished type.

Meditating thus, we hail every indication of a waning insularity, and of a growing conception not merely of our national but of our racial oneness and destiny. Herein lies for me the suggestiveness of such a study of the revolutionary period as our fellow townsman, Mr. Fisher, gives us in his recent history; matching, in its magnanimous comprehension of the British viewpoint, the valuable English work of Mr. Trevelyan, in which he tells the story with such eminent fairness to us. Such books are significant as revealing how happily the prejudices born of that conflict are melting into mutual understandings and promiseful sympathies. And that we may realize that this breadth of view is not confined to a small group of savants, let me, in closing, quote to you an extract from a primary textbook used in teaching history to school children in England. Concerning the reign of George III, it runs thus:

"In the eighteenth century there were born two boys, both of whom were christened George in the lands ruled by English kings. One was born of German parents; he married a German wife, and all his life was German in his ideas. He was George, the grandson of George II, who came to the British throne in 1760. The other boy was born in the British

colonies in America. He was of good English family, he had a good English education, he became a gallant officer in the British Army, and he was all his life full of English ideas of liberty, independence and self-government. The name of this George was Washington. He was the greatest Englishman born in the eighteenth century, and he was not the less an Englishman because he was born in the British Colonies in America. The two boys grew up to be men. The German George became king of Britain; the English George was one of his loyal American subjects. The king, who was obstinate and proud and who had ministers who were false to English ideas of liberty, said that they would compel the American colonists to pay taxes without asking their consent. The English in England obeyed their stubborn King George, although all their ablest and wisest statesman—Chatham, Pitt, Fox and Burke—were opposed to the war. At last the German George was beaten and the English principles triumphed when George Washington became first President of the American Republic. But we lost America, and America lost Britain."

Yes, the English-speaking peoples are to realize afresh their solidarity; and, please God, they are yet to fulfill a noble mission on earth. And we, here in this western continent, in great-visioned harmony with them, and with a wide sympathy with all of every tongue who are of the brotherhood of man, have yet chapters of unequaled dignity to add to our brief but wonderful record as a nation—*If* you and I, and all who enjoy the surpassing advantages of this land of the free, shall, each in his place and measure, respond to the challenge of the heroes of Valley Forge, and attack the problems of the present in the reverent and resistless spirit of St. Paul—"strengthened with all might, according to his glorious power, unto all patience and long suffering, with joyfulness."

Does the message fall lightly from the professional preacher? Then may it grip us when it comes from unexpected lips. A young foreigner from heathen China, studying our science and civilization in the local university, was asked in a

public meeting recently what in his judgment was the present need of his vast country. He began by enumerating four reforms affecting the material conditions there, and then he said: "After these sanitary and educational, social and industrial reforms have been effected, I can see that my people will still be the same interiorly; and in the last analysis the essential need is that they should be transformed; and this necessary transformation can be effected only by some great enthusiasm that shall be both constructive and enduring; and, my friends, I am persuaded that the one Object that can and will supply such a saving enthusiasm is Jesus Christ."

> In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
> With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me.
> As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
> For our God is marching on.

An Unusual Sidelight on Bishop White

By the Rev. James A. Montgomery, D.D.,
His Great-Great-Grandson

ON SUCH an occasion as this, the centenary of a noble philanthropy (the Institution for the Deaf), there are many causes inspiring our interest. There is a vital pride in the years lived and the accomplishments achieved, along with the confidence that what was undertaken in a small way a century ago has fulfilled the purpose of the founders, while a future of unlimited bounds still opens before you. There is the interest of the professional, the student of his science, who takes opportunity to review the development of the past hundred years in the work among the deaf and dumb, of which history the story of this institution is a constant index. And then there is the sheer worth of studying what our ancestors wrought, of giving due credit to the founders, of weighing their zeal and faith and love in the days of small things and many obstacles. The conceit of our modern strenuousness and efficiency blinds us to the merits of the past. The success of our amazing machinery makes us impatient of the plodding ways of the fathers. In our great corporations we mark the welding of the units in one harmonious whole; the individual, whether he be a "hand" or a member of the corporation, sinks out of sight. In this day of vast population and intensive activity it is the mass result alone we observe, personalities sink in proportion.

But when we turn our eyes back to ancient Philadelphia personality stands forth more clearly. We recall some of the great names which have distinguished our city, down from William Penn and through the generation of Benjamin Franklin until we reach the increasing number of scientists, lawyers, divines, educators, philanthropists, who graced Philadelphia a century ago. Most of those men were no greater than men who live among us today. But in the smaller community in 1790—the city numbered about 24,000 souls—the individual who made

himself worthy stood forth more prominently than he would in the larger mass. And in those days of beginnings there was a field of enterprise and invention which was to be discovered and operated by brave and discerning souls. The units of society, of religion, of education, of philanthropy, were then established which lie as the cornerstones of our modern vast organizations.

We recall spontaneously the leaders of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods and the political masters who forged in this city the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution. There followed what seems to be, in the histories, a drab age in which democracy was slowly and painfully working out its experiments of a new nation and a new society. It was a dreary springtime, but the seeds were being sown of which we reap the harvest. The return to nature, in which the colonists found themselves, bent their energies to its conquest, and so America boasts of its material inventiveness which has subdued the plains and mountains of our empire and bound, since Franklin, the spirits of the air.

And as well on the social side of life there was the dogged determination to meet the problems of humanity. Separated from Europe, with a sense of responsibility for independent solution of social questions, we find the citizens of old-time Philadelphia taking up without demur their heavy tasks. Then, as now, it was not the mass of the people who wrought but the earnest and intelligent few, rendered the more conspicuous because they were few and pioneers, men of faith and vision when there was no precedent. It appears to the reader of the history of those days that a big man then worked at many big jobs, because there were few to work at them, while the big man today must be content to labor at one alone. At all events those who shine forth from those past pages are not diminished in luster through comparison with us moderns for zeal and industry and solid effectiveness.

William White, whom you celebrate as the founder of this famous institution, is an example of the many sided activities which characterized the eminent men of our colonial and

early national days. His life covers the latter half of the eighteenth century and the first third of the nineteenth. His father was a typical émigré to the Colonies, the son of a father of good family who had dissipated his fortune. Coming to Maryland as a bound apprentice, he rose through his own efforts and probity to a position of affluence and standing in colonial society. He removed later to Philadelphia, then the metropolis of the Colonies. He was a member of the first board of trustees of the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania.

His son William was born March 24, 1747, old style, corresponding with April 4, 1748, new style. He attended the lower schools of the College of Philadelphia, and then entered the collegiate department, from which he graduated after three years in 1765, gaining from his Alma Mater the degrees of bachelor of arts and master of arts and later the honorary degree of doctor of divinity. His mind was naturally of a religious bent, and the next five years were spent in theological studies. These were of the solid kind which was the rule in those days, and while they appear to have been pursued without masters he so equipped himself that as a scholar he obtained first rank in the church of his attachment.

As he was a member of the Church of England, it was necessary for him to proceed to the mother country for Episcopal ordination. He sailed thither in 1770 and remained there nearly two years, receiving ordination as deacon and priest. He records his meeting with many eminent men, including Samuel Johnson and Oliver Goldsmith. On his return home he was elected an assistant minister of Christ Church, which parish also included St. Peter's Church, the rector being Dr. Richard Peters and the senior assistant the Rev. Jacob Duchè. In 1774 he became a trustee of the college, which, later constituted as the university, he served until his death; he once missed election as its provost by a single vote.

The approach of the Revolution was a testing time to many hearts and consciences. For the Church of England clergy it raised the question of the oath of allegiance they had taken to

the King as the secular head of the Church. Jacob Duchè served as the first chaplain of the Continental Congress, but later changed his mind, and after Howe's evacuation of the city went back to England and was attained by Congress. Most of the Anglican clergy followed a similar course. For a time during the Revolution there was not one of them left in Pennsylvania except William White. He reasoned it out that the principles of the settlement of 1689 qualified such an oath, and he threw in his lot with the Colonies, first in their protests and later in their revolt. He never wavered in this resolution, and in his decision he became a tower of strength to the patriotic cause and also to his own Church when it had to shake off its ecclesiastical attachment to the Church of England and stand by itself as an American Church.

With the entrance of the British into Philadelphia in 1777, White withdrew to the family seat in Maryland. While on the way he was overtaken by a courier from the Continental Congress, which had fled to York, Pa., in the darkest days of the war, when Bourgoyne was on his advance. White was summoned to serve as chaplain of Congress. Without hesitation he turned his horse's head and proceeded to York, where his official connection with the Continental Government began. When the British evacuated Philadelphia in 1779, White followed the Continentals a few days after their reoccupation of the city. Duchè, who had become rector of Christ Church, had escaped to England, and the parish elected White as its rector. His service as rector of the united parishes of Christ Church and St. Peter's, which included also the later foundation of St. James's Church, lasted till his death, a period of fifty-seven years.

As rector of the Episcopal parishes of the city he became at once one of its leading ecclesiastics. Washington, Franklin, Robert Morris, his brother-in-law, and many another worthy bowed their heads during his prayer and sat under his sermons. He came into social and official contact with all the notables of the day, and his personality, invested with his sacred office, made him at this early age of 32 one of the leading citizens of

A Near-by Tenement Court

the town. An advantage gained so early in years only accumulated in time, and when the days of storm and stress were over and he gained patriarchal age, he became perhaps the foremost citizen, honored for himself and as the link with the honored past.

But his days of greatest activity lay before him. To his wisdom and constancy of character was due the establishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church as an autonomous body. Upon election by the Church of Pennsylvania he went to England and was consecrated bishop in 1787. From that time on he was practically or actually the ranking bishop of his Church, holding this office while remaining rector of those united parishes. His statesmanlike achievements in his Church are a matter rather of ecclesiastical interest. It may be noted that it was due very largely to his principles that the Episcopal Church established for itself a democratic form of government which made it congenial to Americanism. It was this clergyman, rector of the three Philadelphia parishes, presiding officer of his communion in the country, preacher and pastor and theologian, who took his full share in the philanthropies for which our city has always been famous. That his charity was genuine is shown by the fact that in two summers of pestilence which raged in the city he remained at home—when all who could fled—to minister to his flock.

The list of his official connections with the philanthropies of Philadelphia apart from ecclesiastical ones is surprising. We may not think of the duties devolved upon him as purely *ex officio* out of respect to his office as bishop. In those pristine days of the Republic bishops as such were feared or disdained. Nor was he a seeker of public honors; his natural characteristic, or even fault, was an excessive modesty. In fact, unlike many of us clergy, he shunned general public occasions, and he records that only three times did he agree to preside at a general public meeting, namely at the establishment of the Colonization Society (which resulted in the establishment of the Liberian Republic), at a meeting in behalf of the Greeks in their revolt against the Turks in 1823, and at another in behalf of the

rights of the Indians. In 1827 Bishop White writes that he was president of the following societies, almost all of which exist to this day: The Philadelphia Dispensary and the Pennsylvania Prison Society, since 1786; the Magdalen Society (now the White-Williams Foundation) and the Sunday School Society (undenominational), since 1800; the Provident Society, since 1824; the Philadelphia Bible Society, the first of its kind in the country, as its president from its inception in 1808; and, finally, the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, which he served as its first president. His name, which he had earned, doubtless lent prestige to these undertakings, but I judge that the records would show that he served them all with his wise counsels and wide influence. Known as the "Father of the Church" in his own communion, he was the patriarch of the charities of the City of Brotherly Love.

He presided at the first meeting, April 12, 1820, which led to the establishment of this institution. At the next meeting, April 20, he was elected president and continued as such until the day of his death in 1836. On June 15, 1824, he delivered the address at the laying of the corner stone of the institution's building at the northwest corner of Broad and Pine Streets, the structure still so well known to all Philadelphia. It is of interest to note that along with this man who had obtained distinction in the Christian community was associated one who gave the institution its first impetus, a certain David Seixas, "a humble Israelite," as he is called in the history of the corporation.

Your superintendent has communicated to me a story of Bishop White which links him personally with the work among the deaf and dumb. It may be worth retelling. One day at Fifth and Market Streets he found a boy engaged in making sketches on the pavement with the hope of gaining a few pennies from the onlookers. The bishop took an interest in the lad, whom he found to be deaf and dumb. He had him transferred to the newly founded institution, where the lad's name appears in its second annual report. Whence the boy had come he could not tell; he had left his home with no knowledge of names and

verbal communication. But he drew persistently the scenes of his early memories, and finally chance visitors to the institution who looked at his drawings were able to identify his home and parentage. He was an orphan child, born on the Ohio, at Steubenville. The boy grew up, and the generosity of the institution gave him the best education possible in his art. He studied under George Catlin and Bridgeport, the miniature painter. He became an early adept in the recently discovered art of lithography and was unexcelled in that field in this part of the country. His name was Albert Newsam, which name may still be found on many prints, among them one which he made of his benefactor, Bishop White. Such stories as these must be numerous in your annals, but they illustrate in an affecting way the noble, personal work done by your founders and patrons and teachers.

The First Sunday-school

Address

delivered at the

100th Anniversary of the Founding of the First Church Sunday-school in the United States

Christ Church, October 19, 1914

LET us now praise famous men and our fathers who begat us. The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through His great power from the beginning.—*Ecclus.* 44 : 1-2.

Under the auspices of the Sunday-school Association of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, we have gathered here this morning to celebrate the centennial of a truly memorable event. He who would enumerate the agencies of far reaching beneficence in the modern religious world, must place amongst the first the Sunday-schools.

In any effective movement that becomes at all general there are always several initial impetuses, each of which may with a measure of truth claim to have been the first. There is, however, no warrant for an unseemly competition in boastfulness concerning them. "In honor preferring one another" is the binding Christian principle in this as in everything. And yet it would ill become appreciative heirs of the past to neglect to bear grateful witness to the vision and initiative of the devout men who pioneered such an immeasurably resultful movement as the Sunday-schools in this land. There is a fundamental sequence between the Law and the Promise in the Old Commandment: "Honor Thy Father and Thy Mother that Thy days may be long in the Land which the Lord Thy God giveth Thee."

It is quite true that the tasks of the present are so many and so urgent that we are inclined to begrudge the time spent in recounting the accomplishments of our forbears. Yet the builder who has failed to acquaint himself with the character of his foundations is ill equipped to rear any lasting superstructure.

Morally there are few groups less lovable than those who are so concerned with garnishing the tombs of the Prophets that they neglect the crying needs of today or indeed cast stones of cynical criticism at its burden bearers; yet you and I who are convinced of the worth of the Apostolic Church are set to conserve the historic sense. In our current Christianity, where a sometimes vague passion for Unity threatens to obliterate the recognition of the value of the differential, we do well to realize that one of our vital contributions to the contemporary religious world is the great principle of Continuity. The messages of Church History are of essential worth to a generation so enamored with the exploitation of novelty as to miss the significance of experience.

Moreover, it would discredit our judgment and loyalty were we to fail to walk about Zion and tell the towers thereof and mark well her bulwarks, that we may tell them that come after—modestly yet frankly we are to certify our Church's worth and works. It is no vain indulgence then when we look unto the rock whence we were hewn.

There are many influences co-operating in impressing upon thoughtful men today the consciousness that there is no greater task before us than that of religious education. The inevitable breakdown of an unmoral civilization, however clever, is being tragically exemplified. Moreover, the futility of ethics unmotived and sustained by religion is inescapable. Clearly the primary duty of the Church today, if we would rescue our Western civilization, is along the line of religious education; and there is something singularly heartening in recalling the fact that there are no more inspiriting memories issuing from our local progenitors than those which show their vision and initiative in this direction.

I want to direct your attention to the fact that the Sunday-school enterprise was the natural outcome from the type of Christian leadership which was generated in the early years of this Mother of Churches.

With the traditions and habits inspiring them, evidenced by the zeal for learning monumentalized in the Library, express-

THE CONCILIAR WINDOW

ing itself in the Parochial School, and in the University, and in the founding of the Episcopal Academy, it was quite natural and inevitable, was it not, that the group of men worshipping in this old sanctuary a century ago should relate themselves hospitably to the enterprise of Robert Raikes and become pioneers of the Sunday-school movement in this land?

As early as 1788 we find this record:

"At a meeting of the Vestry on Monday the 3d of November, 1788: Present, The Rector, Mr. David, Doct. Clarkson, Mr. Bukham, Mr. Claypoole, Mr. Powell, Mr. Swift, Mr. Wynkoop, Mr. Cox and Mr. Towers, Church Warden, Col. Gurney. The Rector laid before the Vestry a plan of a free school for boys, to be under the care of the Trustees of the Episcopal Academy, intended to include when sufficient funds should be raised, a SUNDAY-SCHOOL, as also a school for girls, and confirming a proposition for Charity Sermons to be preached annually to assist in the support of the same. Whereupon resolved, that the Vestry consent that the Rector and the Assistant Ministers of these United Churches may annually, in the month of May, preach sermons for the benefit of the said Charity Schools, and in consideration that equal care should be extended by the well disposed of both sexes, this Vestry earnestly recommends that the plan of the S. School be extended to girls from the beginning, and that the monies arising from the sermons above mentioned be applied toward supporting the whole."

It was at that time deemed venturesome to attempt to introduce for popular use an innovation so characteristically English in origin. However, Bishop White proceeded to detail the scheme to the congregation; and presented it in the light of moral improvement rather than of spiritual regeneration. In this way it attracted several rich men who were not confirmed churchmen. Christ Church at that time was the gathering place of many such. The plan deeply interested Benjamin Rush, among others. These men drew in others without the parish sphere of influence, notably Quakers—and in 1790 formed the First Day Society. Bishop White was chosen its president and

a number of First Day or Sunday-schools were at once started in various parts of Philadelphia and its liberties or environs.

We need not dwell upon the fortunes of this enterprise. Suffice it to note that it paved the way for the essentially new step forward, which our Church leaders hereupon took, and which we are met to recall today.

The story is told in detail by the Rev. Oscar S. Michael in "The Sunday-school in the Development of the American Church." In concisest terms it is this: "In the fall of 1814 Jackson Kemper and James Milnor, Bishop White's assistant clergy at Christ Church, began an afternoon Sunday-school and a night service in Commissioners' Hall in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia, which resulted in the formation of the parish of St. John's, Northern Liberties. This was the first school officially incorporated by any religious organization in America and preluded the general adoption during the next three years of the institution in its developed form by most of the Church Organizations in the country."

Utterly simple and unostentatious was the deed. Quite insignificant in comparison with much that was transpiring, and yet who can measure the beneficent results that have issued from it; to whom do we owe more than to those three pioneers, White, Kemper and Milnor.

Let us follow the movement a little further down the stream. Two years later these same men opened a similar school in the parish itself.

In 1816 there were only four Episcopal Churches in the city, and three of these were united under one corporation, namely: Christ Church, St. Peter's and St. James's; of all of which the Rt. Rev. William White, D.D., the Bishop of the Diocese, was Rector; and the Rev. James Abercrombie, D.D., the Rev. Jackson Kemper, and the Rev. James Milnor, were the assistant ministers. The Rev. Dr. Pilmore was Rector of St. Paul's.

As a preliminary step to organization, "a meeting of young ladies belonging to the Rev. Mr. Milnor's Bible Class was held at a school room in Ranstead Court, on Tuesday, February 13,

1816, to form a society for instructing the children of the poor in religious knowledge on Sundays. There were present twenty-seven ladies, twelve of whom were from Christ Church; eight from St. James's Church; five from St. Peter's and two from St. Paul's. It was agreed to open a school at Christ Church; which was done on the following Sunday, February 18th, with ninety scholars and twenty-seven teachers present."

After meeting thus two Sundays, Mr. Milnor and Mr. Kemper, assistant ministers, advised that the Society should be divided so as to form a school in each church. "Announcement was made in the United Churches, and a society was formed in each of them. The ladies of Christ Church met, and the officers which had been chosen by the first society all happening to be from Christ Church, they were continued on as before. The scholars were divided, those nearest to St. Peter's and St. James's being sent to those churches. But new ones were readily collected in the vicinity of Christ Church, and on Sunday, March 10th, twenty teachers, all of Christ Church, assembled with nearly one hundred scholars in a school room in Church Alley near Third Street."

Mr. Kemper manifested great zeal in the work; "going to different societies for Bibles; obtaining at a book store loose sheets with the Te Deum and the Creed, and having them pasted on the cards, for the scholars to commit to memory."

After Sunday-schools were established in his own churches, the Bishop makes frequent mention of them in his annual addresses to the Diocesan Convention.

In that of May, 1818, after commending to the Church in Pennsylvania the Advancement and Missionary Societies, then just ordained, he says: "There is another species of charitable institutions, which I beg leave to recommend on this occasion. It is that of the gratuitous instruction of the children of the poor in Sunday-schools. In the country in which these schools were begun, they have been found the happiest expedient yet devised, for the clearing of the streams of corruption at their sources. The records of their effect on the normal state of extensive districts rests on evidence not to be resisted.

"It is a fact of general notoriety, that over the whole face of our country, there are temptations to juvenile licentiousness peculiarly operative on the first day of the week, and tending to make its returning rest a cause of corruption, instead of its being, as was designed, and as the experience of ages has proved it fitted to be, the best preservative of morals and decency. The evil is known and felt; and the Providence of God points to the remedy of it, in the blessing which has been bestowed on the expedient recommended.

"But it is my earnest recommendation that whatever efforts may be put forth by my reverend brethren for the extending of this species of beneficent institution, the instruction of them embrace the principles of Christian faith and worship, as maintained in this Church, and be under the control of its ministry. There is an apparent liberality in the contrary scheme; but it is never consistently acted upon, so far as my knowledge extends. If it should be acted on, there must be a surrendry of Christian verity."

These sentiments, we may note, were born of his experience with another interesting outgrowth of the new Sunday-school zeal.

The first steps in the formation of the Sunday and Adult Society were taken at St. Paul's Church by the officers of the newly established Sunday-schools of that Parish in February, 1816. John P. Bankson was the leading spirit. The enterprise was not officially launched until April, 1817, however, when the general society was regularly formed under the Presidency of Samuel J. Robbins, a prominent churchman of St. Paul's parish, Bankson was its secretary. Incorporated by charter in 1819, it was primarily designed to be a state society, but it soon outgrew the original intention of its projectors and took in Sunday-school societies and local unions in many other states beside Pennsylvania. At the time of its incorporation, a little more than two years' progress, it consisted of 227 unions or societies, 2,653 teachers and nearly 20,000 scholars, representing eleven states and one territory. Many church societies were among these, and although its leadership passed to other hands,

many churchmen of influence remained on its Board of Managers.

The Rules and Regulations of the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult Society in 1819, show that the Sunday-school of that period had a high state of organization. The children were graded into four divisions according to their ability to read, and each division was subdivided into ten sections where possible. The first division held those who could read in the Testament; the second those who could read indifferently well; the third, those unable to read, but who could spell in two or more syllables; and the fourth, those in the alphabet. Each division received books suited to their attainments, from which they recited at two sessions, in the morning and in the afternoon, each time just before the regular Church service. The duties of the teachers were clearly and minutely outlined. Among other things they were to wait on the parents of the children absent one Sunday and report the cause to the Superintendent. It was their special duty to impress upon the minds of the children the necessity of repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, during the time not occupied in hearing recitations. After the close of the school they were to take charge of their respective classes, lead them into church and sit with them during the service. The Superintendent had his duties rigidly outlined and detailed. He was expected to oversee and arrange and not to allow addresses to be made to the school oftener than once a month, on which occasion the parents of the children were expected to be present. The Rules and Regulations were safeguarded by a system of punishments and fines. Bad behavior in church on the part of the children caused a loss of their monthly tract, which must have been a great hardship. For the teachers and superintendent the punishment was direr. A teacher absent at roll call, was fined 12½ cents. If absent from session without providing a substitute there was a fine of 25 cents. Similar fines were imposed for other neglect, such as not visiting absent scholars. And all penalties imposed on the superintendent were double those of the teacher. If the Sunday-school has failed in some particulars, it is not because

of faulty ideas on the part of its founders or early leaders, nor of the high purpose for which it was designed.

Bishop White awoke to the realization of the disadvantages of interdenominational activity in those days. The church leaders who organized the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult Society for all Christian bodies were soon relegated to positions of inferior station by a more numerous Puritan influence within that organization, and good-natured churchmen were supplanted by others more aggressive, though the business policy of the Society remained quite broad and non-partisan. Therefore, representatives of the church parishes in and around Philadelphia, without withdrawing from the latter, thought best to form the Philadelphia Protestant Episcopal Sunday-school and Adult Society in the Fall of 1817. Its chief work was to be the publication and sale of tracts, books and periodicals, written from the standpoint of the Church. In this way the Church worked hand in hand with the other religious bodies, doing, as Bishop White said, "A reasonable share of the work of Christianity," yet maintaining without reserve her distinctive principles.

Early in 1820, Bankson, the originator of the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult Union and the Protestant Episcopal Sunday and Adult Society, gave St. Paul's male school a more than national fame, in that he made it the backbone of the Liberian Mission in West Africa, which was the product of American religious enterprise. It was the preliminary work of men like Bankson that called the attention of the nation to the beneficence and hopefulness of the Liberian enterprise. When Bankson and his companion died of fever on the African coast after less than a year's heroic struggle to plant institutions for the education of the sable children, word was at once transmitted to St. Paul's School. Out of the deep, painful impression it made on the assembled children, who revered their former secretary, sprang the inspiration into the hearts of several young men, who at once volunteered to take the places of the deceased.

Smythe Hatchment
in Tower Room

It was in 1820 that the General Convention organized and adopted the first draft of a Constitution for the Protestant Episcopal Society in the United States for Domestic and Foreign Missions with headquarters in Philadelphia. The immediate election of Samuel J. Robbins and the Rev. George Boyd as the first two general secretaries, both known chiefly for their ceaseless activity in the forefront of the Sunday-school movement, shows how perfectly the inspiration of this movement already animated the missionary pulse of the Church.

"Looking over the old Minute Books," says one who has long been connected with the school, "for facts which might be interesting to recall at this time, I find many which prove the value of Sunday-schools, and were very encouraging to us; such as whole families having been brought into the Church through the influence of the instruction given to their children; the baptisms and confirmations of the scholars; and the happy deaths of those who departed young. But as these are facts which occur, doubtless, in most Sunday-schools, it is needless to particularize them here."

The amount of Scripture committed to memory by many of the scholars, and recited to their teachers, in the first years of the school, is truly wonderful, and almost incredible. Thus in 1820, one girl is recorded to have repeated 322 verses of the Bible at one time, and 3,113 in the year. Another girl repeated 131 verses at one lesson, and 2,268 Bible verses and 157 Hymns in the year. A third girl repeated 102 verses at one lesson, and in the year, 1,003 verses of the Bible and 140 Hymns.*

But enough, these suggestive extracts from the records suffice to visualize the picture of our origins. The stream has flowed down the hundred years ever broader and deeper, and we are part of it in these critical days. Vision and initiative are demanded of us now as they were of the men of the past. Upon the Church rests the tremendous responsibility of religiously educating each succeeding generation. We should

*See Dr. Dorr's "Fifty Years of Christ Church Sunday-school."

indeed drink deep of stimulating inspiration here at the Altar, this morning, as thus we recall the noble work of our fathers.

There is a suggestive chapter in the Apochryphal book of Ecclesiasticus in which the inspired writer exclaims: "Let us now praise Godly men, and our fathers who begat us. The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through His great power from the beginning." In this famous chapter the son of Sirach has been speaking of the greatness of God as revealed in nature, in sun and moon, in the beauty of heaven and the wonder of the stars; in the rainbow, in the thunder and the snow and the hail; in the sea with its strange and marvelous progeny; and he concludes by reminding us how far more great and glorious is the Creator than His creation. "We have seen but a few of His works," he says, "Yet we know that He is terrible and very great and marvelous in His power." Therefore, he says, "When ye glorify the Lord, exalt Him as much as ye can."

From nature the inspiring writer turns to man, not to contrast the littleness of man with the greatness of God's works in nature, nor yet as a modern author might do, to glorify man for his triumph over nature. Instead of that he turns quite naturally and simply from nature to man as to another sphere in which God reveals His greatness and at once he goes on to speak of Noah and Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and Moses and Aaron and Phineas, of Joshu and Caleb; the heroes of the wilderness, wanderings of the prophets and the great King David down to the times of the Son of Onias. In all these famous men, no less than the grandeur of external nature, the greatness of God is seen. "The Lord wrought great glory by them."

So, brothers, our grateful recollections of our Sunday-school pioneers carries us quite naturally on and up to the contemplation and worship of our Dear Lord. We yield unto Him most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in His saints who have been the choice vessels of His grace and the lights of the world in their several generations. And inevitably we are led, right

humbly and sincerely, to kneel before Him and present unto Him ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and living sacrifice unto Him, to be used in this high service of religious education.

Oh lead me Lord that I may lead
The wandering and the wavering feet.
Oh feed me Lord that I may feed
Thy hungering ones with manna sweet.

The 1600th Anniversary of the Council of Nicea

Commemorated in a Diocesan Service at Christ Church, April 20, 1925

The Nicene Theology

Rev. George Cadwalader Foley, S. T. D.

IT IS surely a remarkable fact that we should be celebrating the 1600th anniversary of the utterance of a theological formula. Philosophy and science have undergone vast and radical changes in the ensuing centuries; but this statement offers itself unchanged to the challenge of twentieth century criticism of its validity and authority. Mere survival does not authenticate it; for that of itself could not demonstrate its truth, nor could age-long repetition add anything to its warrant. Nor may we validate it by the quite unsupported claim of the infallibility of the Council which promulgated it. There is nothing infallible about any human utterance, which this certainly was; it is always open to examination and criticism, and, if need be, to revision. It is curious that some who are disposed to doubt the infallibility of Scripture should still defend the infallibility of Councils which base their decisions upon Scripture. But our Article XXI explicitly denies it, "forasmuch as they be assemblies of men, whereof all be not governed by the Spirit and Word of God, they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God."

The question always remains: Is the formula authoritative because it is the decision of the Council; or is the Council's definition accepted because for other reasons it is found to be adequately Christian? This leads at once to the previous question, what is the authority of an Oecumenical Council? Upon this it is sufficient to quote the language of the well-known American editor of the conciliar decrees, Dr. Henry R. Percival. He says: "An Oecumenical Synod may be defined as a synod the decrees of which have found acceptance by the Church in the whole world." So that the Nicene Creed occupies the same status and rests upon the same basis as the Apostles', namely the

verdict of the universal Church. The latter creed developed its phraseology through six centuries, gradually and spontaneously, without any official pronouncement by the Church, while the former was struck off on a single occasion, and was an official declaration; but both alike maintain themselves as the affirmation of Christian experience, expressed in general assent. The Nicene Theology, then, was not imposed by mere conciliar authority. If it commends itself to our adherence today, it is not because it was announced by an oecumenical synod in the fourth century, but because the ages have found it to be a suitable expression of their faith, and because it is seen to be still equal to the utterance of our convictions.

Indeed, the history of the time abundantly proves this. If the action of the Council had been regarded as definitive, the controversies of the next fifty years would have been impossible. Jerome would not have been able to say that in a quarter of a century the whole world groaned and was astonished to find itself Arian. Instead of at once settling the issue, the Council really opened a great debate. While coercion and persecution aided the final adjustment, the ultimate prevalence of the definition was due to the belief that its solution of the problem was more nearly true than any of the alternatives offered.

It is really wonderful that it should have accomplished this, considering its many handicaps. Its personnel was far from reassuring, the greater number being, as the historian Socrates intimated, very much in the dark as to the implications of the terms that were brought into debate. Their spirit was violent and overbearing, and alert to catch the enemy in a trap. The great test word was eagerly adopted, as soon as Eusebius of Nicomedia declared that he would not say that the son was *homoousios* with the Father: that furnished the weapon with which to drive out the Arians. And they endeavored to clinch the matter by appending to the creed an anathema, in which all who disagreed with their formulations were said to be accursed. After making these qualifications, however, we still deem ourselves justified in honoring this first proclamation of the theology of the Incarnation.

What then shall we say of its value? We can arrive at no fair estimate, except by rigidly confining ourselves to the facts in the case. And first, we must regard its purpose. It was not a wanton speculation about transcendent mysteries. It was, as Bishop Gore says, following Hilary, a regrettable necessity, forced upon them by the circumstances. In the long discussion about the relation of Christ to God, the speculation offered by Arius appeared to be most dangerous to religion and to the peace of the Church. Some formula of concord seemed to be imperative; something like the general voice of the Church required to be heard. But the Fathers did not consider that they were introducing a novelty in thought, but only in terminology. The existing words apparently were incapable of preventing the Arian evasions, and so a form was contrived which would explicitly join the issue. Yet they intended simply an interpretation of the somewhat unsystematic language of the New Testament, which was itself an interpretation of an impressive experience. There was the inevitable contrast between an ingenuous and devotional form of popular dialect and the seemingly abstract phrasing of philosophy. The unlikeness has been compared by Illingworth to the difference between the beauty of a daisy and its botanical description, or between a sonata and its musical score.

Certainly, they had no suspicion that they were proposing a new creed to the Church, in the sense of supplanting the many baptismal confessions. In fact, it did not become part of the liturgy for a long time thereafter. As a popular creed, the appended anathema would have been entirely inappropriate. It was a witness or testimony to the faith as it was held in the churches of the bishops represented in the assembly; and their declaration was, "*We* believe in one God, and in one Lord Jesus Christ." As a confession of faith, it may be called a creed, and it eventually came into use as such by the people. But as a doctrinal formula then framed, and adapted from the use of Caesarea, it was meant to be a standard of orthodoxy for the responsible teachers of the Church. As such, it was immediately applied to all bishops as a test. The novelty consisted in

presenting articles of subscription for the entire episcopate. And yet it is a curious fact that Hilary, the well-known Western defender of the Trinity, admitted that he had never even heard of it until the year 355, when he was exiled. Of necessity, the test could not have been made applicable to the Anti-Nicene theologians. For, as John Henry Newman said in his History of the Arians, as tried by the Nicene phraseology, practically all of their predecessors could have been convicted of heresy. But, by prescribing this test, urgent though the need may have been, there resulted a disproportionate emphasis upon orthodoxy as contrasted with life, upon *the faith* rather than personal faith as the criterion of the Christian. The responsibility for this transfer of interest from discipleship to knowledge really belongs to Arius, not to Athanasius.

Without doubt, the Council looked upon its definition as final; and so far as the fundamental question of the Incarnation is concerned, this judgment has been endorsed. For 125 years even its exact form as well as content were looked upon as sacrosanct, neither Constantinople (381) nor Ephesus (431) venturing to add a word to it. When Ephesus forbade the composition of "another faith" or creed, the words were *heteran pistin*, that is, "different" from the faith of Nicaea, like the doctrine of Nestorius. Chalcedon did not disregard this finality, when it added the statement of the supernatural conception, and the permanence of Christ's Kingdom, and the whole of the third paragraph (except the *filioque*) from a revision of the creed of Jerusalem; because the central and characteristic thought was left untouched. The question whether the Nicene Creed is irreformable is probably merely academic, seeing that any revision is in the highest degree unlikely, until a better and truer expression of the Incarnation can be found. The first clue then to an appreciation of the present importance of this theology is obtained from an understanding of its purpose. It provides a test of the interpretation of the New Testament: and the fixity of the formula is determined by its exceptional competence to preserve the essential meaning.

Secondly, in order to get a true estimate of the validity of the definition, it must be judged by its own language. It must be distinguished from the confused speculations of the following fifty years, and credited only with what it says. Most of its phrases can be found in other confessions, but the word *homoousian* is its permanent contribution to thought: this is not only integral, but central to the Nicene theology. Its affirmation that Jesus Christ is the only begotten Son of God, begotten of His Father before all the ages, God of God, Very God of Very God, is merely the repetition of the Scriptural language, made distinctive by being cast in such form as would obviate the misplaced emphasis of the Arians upon the metaphors, "Son" and "begotten." But *homoousian* is its real achievement, and by this it must be judged; not at all by the temporary uncertainty as to the meaning of *hypostasis,* which was placed in the anathema. For the anathema, while part of the Council's action, and containing a valuable enumeration of Arian errors, is no part of the Creed, as is seen by the fact that it was very soon dropped.

Nevertheless, the language of the anathema led to a long misunderstanding. The two words, *ousia* and *hypostasis,* bulked large in the efforts to secure a suitable and intelligible formula. Both of them were borrowed from current philosophy, *ousia* from Platonism and *hypostasis* from Stoicism. Both were under suspicion because they were originally used by the Gnostics; and even *homoousios* had been rejected by the Synod of Antioch because it was a favorite of Paul of Samosata, and in the fourth century it was feared as being open to a Sabellian meaning. But the two chief words, which were afterward treated as distinct, were at first considered to be identical. Among the errors condemned was this: "Those who say * * * that the Son of God was a different *hypostasis* or *ousia* (from the Father), * * * these the Catholic Church anathematizes." Athanasius himself, who was largely responsible for the adoption of *homoöusion,* uses it only once in his first three orations against the Arians, and strangely enough, uses *homoios* and *homoiousios,* which were supposed to be semi-Arian, thirty-four times. In 362, according to Gregory, he composed the differences between the

factions by reminding them that, as they were agreed on the ideas, the names were indifferent. And in 369 he said: "Hypostasis *is* ousia, and has no other signification."

The Western bishops at Sardica (347) condemned the phrase, "three hypostases," which had been employed by the Cappadocians. The Council of Alexandria (362), agreeing with Athanasius, admitted that the sense of hypostasis was "an open question." But Cyril of Alexandria, as late as 430, repeats the Nicene Anathema, and endorses the equivalence of the two words. Jerome, a contemporary, says: "The whole school of secular learning understands nothing else by hypostasis than ousia or essence:" so that Dr. Bigg concludes that the distinction eventually made is "purely arbitrary." And yet from that day to our own there has been an agreement on "three hypostases in one ousia," as perhaps as near an approximation to the reality as words can phrase. That is to say, what the divines for nearly a century had pronounced heresy became the orthodoxy of all succeeding generations. In contrast to this welter of misunderstanding, we may well appreciate the simplicity and precision and reserve of the original Nicene Creed.

Thirdly, we must distinguish the Nicene phraseology from its Latin translation, which has unfortunately given us our theological vocabulary. It had long been seen that the definition of the personality of Christ was intimately related to the doctrine of the Trinity. But the word "Trinity" does not occur in the Creed, and there is no technical statement of the dogma. The language really goes very little beyond the New Testament description of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, although the test word furnished a basis for the later development. It is not, however, the Greek terms of Nicaea, but their Latin equivalents, which have occasioned our chief perplexities in attempting to reach an intelligible conception of the doctrine. The West never quite understood the East, and Greek Philosophic thought is almost untranslatable into Latin. Nowhere is this ineptness of rendering so conspicuous as in this subject.

Tertullian had a century before suggested the two words, "substance" and "person," as the translation of *ousia and hypo-*

William and Mary Arms—Marking Pew

stasis; and these have remained the recognized forms in Western theology. They are Latin interpretations of Greek ideas, and it must be confessed they are very bad ones. They have become transliterated into our English tongue, and so are found in our Prayer Book; and we have accordingly inherited the misunderstandings with the words. It would be extraordinarily difficult to displace them, even if we felt competent to supply equivalents, except by a return to the original language. But Bishop Gore has noted the hesitation and reluctance with which they were adopted, and he says that the Fathers were profuse in apologies for their unfitness. Both of them have radically changed their meaning, and have become to the average mind ambiguous or unintelligible or misleading. "Consubstantial" requires a philosophical analysis, too subtle and difficult for the common people. "Person" is exposed to the danger of Sabellianism, if taken literally, as the mask through which the actor spoke the lines belonging to the character assumed. Or if it has the later sense of "individual," or, in modern phrase, "a center of consciousness," it easily leads to Tritheism, which, it is to be feared, is the popular understanding of the Trinity. If words are to be used for the conveyance of ideas, it must be considered an enormous disadvantage that we have continually to sound a warning that they do not mean what they seem to mean.

Tertullian started the confusion by using *substantia* for *ousia* ("substance" for "being"). Pope Damasus, about 380, in his translation of the Nicene Creed, corrected the error by using the word properly, equating *substantia* with *hypostasis,* which is its etymological equivalent. And so even Hilary and Augustin spoke of "three substances" in God, the former, it is said, more than one hundred times. Then the matter was still further confused by returning to Tertullian's mistake; the Latin form of the Creed of Chalcedon rendering *homoousian* by *consubstantialem;* and so it has remained ever since. St. Augustin vainly protested against the use of such a doubtful word as "substance," when Cicero had already introduced into the language the much more exact and significant word *essentia,* which indeed had been

employed by Pope Damasus. Careful writers of today are forsaking "substance" for the much less misleading "essence."

But *persona* is in far worse case, and is perhaps the most unhappy word ever introduced into theology. Augustin admitted its certain liability to error; Calvin wished it might be buried in oblivion; Liddon urged the utmost caution in its use, and Bishop Gore shows that it has to be used in two totally different senses when speaking of God. What more trenchant criticism of its value can there be than Augustin's remark: "We speak of three Persons, not in order that we may affirm it, but in order not to be silent about it?" Or that he should refer to "three somewhats?" Or that Anselm, obsessed and yet muddled by the word, should say: "Three—I know not what?" Is it any wonder that Ambrose diffidently commended an earlier substitute, "distinctions?" All this, of course, in no way effects the doctrine of the Trinity: but it does raise the question of the propriety, of its Western terminology. And we must claim that we may not attribute to Nicaea all the Latin elaborations which have led to such bewilderment: from these confusions its formula is certainly free.

We can justify our present commemoration, however, only if we can regard the attempt at definition as successful, not merely for the fourth century but for our own. It is true that we do not feel the Alexandrian necessity of harmonizing Christianity with Greek philosophy; for that is alien to our present modes of thinking. We are less concerned with the metaphysics of God's inmost nature than with the moral fact of His relations with us: we think less in terms of being than of life. Yet if we are to claim a permanent validity for their work, we must find its point of contact with our own ideas and experiences: what they held to be vital must express what we too believe. And we find that the issue presented to our minds is practically the same as that which confronted them.

It is very striking to recall that Dr. Hedge, the well-known Boston Unitarian, declared that *homoousious* was a grand victory of Christian truth. On the other hand, we are all familiar with Gibbon's notorious sneer about a quarrel over a "single dip-

thong," and Carlyle's repetition of it as a squabble over in "iota," which, however, he retracted before his death. To the Nicenes, as to us, it was no trivial matter; it was a question of life and death, of the survival of paganism or of Christianity. They sought an answer to the inquiry, Who was Jesus Christ? Was He God incarnate, or a created half-god, or, as in the modern dilution, an apotheosized man? Thus the center of the Nicene Theology was the meaning of the Incarnation: and an incarnation involves two terms—He was human and divine.

His humanity was as real and as complete as our own. Chalcedon did not err when it drew the inference that He was also *homoousious* with man. This has always been stated in terms, although the full value of its implications is perhaps not even yet appreciated. And yet it was perceived that the categories of humanity do not adequately explain Him. They had to analyze and interpret the self-consciousness of Christ, in His relation to God, and, holding the New Testament statements to be true, to relate the fact of Christ to the fact of God. They could do no less than say that His essential nature was divine, that whatever the essence of God may be, that may be predicated of Christ.

Nothing less definite can be deduced from the Scriptural language, or harmonized with it. This describes Him as "the image of the invisible God," "the only begotten Son," "the Word was God," "he that hath seen Me hath seen the Father," "all things were created through Him and with Him as their goal, and He, Himself, is before all things, and all things hold together in Him." It is not so much the single texts as the whole atmosphere of the apostolic thought. Now this is a perfectly concrete conception—that He was the manifestation of very God, the unique "embodiment" (as Hilary puts it) and the revealment of the very Self of God. So the Council declined to minimize it, and endeavored to safeguard it by saying, in technical language, that that which God is was present in the manifestation. It expressed the essential equivalence which Athanasius found in the words, "As thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee."

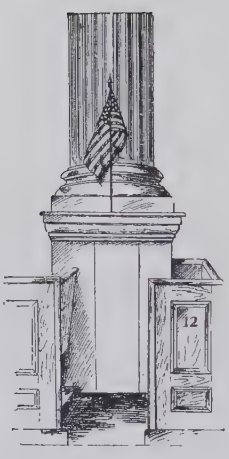
But such a theology seems to many minds aloof from our spiritual needs. Let me then, with the utmost brevity, indicate

how it ministers to religion. It preserves the fullness of faith from threatened impoverishment: it justifies the worship of Christ. Arius had defended the worship of a creature. Newman made the astounding statement that the condemnation of Arius left a vacant throne in heaven, which the Virgin Mary later quite properly occupied. The Council declared that God alone is to be worshipped, and that Christ is worthy of worship as the Incarnation of God. Consequently, when we accept Him as Lord and Master of men, He does not become such by our adoption, but as One who lays His imperative and unescapable claim upon us.

Again, this theology has rendered, in Christian experience, the conception of God richer and more practical. It provides the best defence of the Divine Personality, for this self-revelation was through a person. Thus it involves the very existence of our religion, which is a relation between persons. It justifies the ascription to Him of those thoughts and feelings which constitute the good news of God in Christ. It is the basis of all our Christian regard for the sacredness of personality and for the eternal value of the single soul.

Again, it effectively answers the recurring question, Is God knowable? We have not the unknown God of the ancient Athenian or the modern agnostic; we may know what God is like. The formula indeed interprets Christ in terms of God: it equally enables us to interpret God in terms of Christ. We are not left to individual speculation and guess-work: we see Him in the face of Jesus Christ. All representations of Him that are unlike Jesus are branded as unchristian and untrue; thus undermining all those theologies which portray God as less tender and merciful and loving than our Lord.

Once more the conception of an essential unity infers also a unity of feeling and purpose. He is the authentic Word of the very mind and heart and character of God. This forever discredits the persistent notion of disparateness, according to which Christ saves us out of the hands of God, whether of His justice or His wrath. Because He was Son of God, He was incarnate for us and for our salvation, and Christian experience has justly



Betsy Ross Pew

given Him the title of Saviour. But if the Word of God accurately corresponds to the Thought of God, then, and then only, we have warrant for the saying, six times repeated, "God our Saviour." The living and dying love of Christ is the disclosure of Eternal Love. The suffering Christ is the symbol of the suffering God—not impossible, just because He is love. Herein is divine love, that Christ loved us. God needs no persuasion or appeasement or change in Himself: His love is so righteous that His eternal purpose is to make us like Himself.

And finally, the Incarnation has consecrated the possibilities of ordinary human life. Arius, like the Gnostics, had removed God from any actual contact with humanity. This not only denied the reality of a divine revelation, but disparaged man as the recipient of it. But if "the likeness of sinful flesh" be a medium of such a communication, there is a wonderful enlargement and ennobling of our common human nature. As He is the Light of Light, we are assured that we may come to the knowledge of the truth. As He is the Life of Life (see the creed of Eusebius), He gives the highest interpretation of our own life as filial. As He is "the Head of every man," He ushers in the boundless hope that we may be conformed to His image.

I venture to believe that these religious inferences are inherent in the theology of Nicaea. Our continued use of the formula is the affirmation of our faith in its validity for the modern mind. We may thankfully repeat it, not as though it were the abstruse jargon of the schools, but as the permanently valuable expression of the truth that makes us free.

"Fraternity for Community Needs"

Address by the Rector at the Arch Street Meeting-house

October 18, 1924, at the Tercentenary of George Fox

YOUR gracious invitation to me to bear testimony on a matter of common concern in this historic place on so significant an occasion is most heartily appreciated. One of the two sweetest, bravest, merriest, sanest mystics I have known was a little lady with a brood of fourteen children, a descendant of Samuel Carpenter, and Samuel Preston and Thomas Lloyd, my own dear mother. It is in the blood. And on this Tercentenary festival this prodigal has returned to enjoy your courteous hospitality and the music of your messages.

Moreover the congeniality of this fellowship is not only personal with me but official as well. I recall that in the earliest days of the "Holy Experiment" here, when Samuel Carpenter, my maternal ancestor, was one of your choice spirits; his enterprising brother Joshua was equally busy around the corner with twenty or more associates, as provided for in Penn's Charter, laying the foundation for Christ Church. Brothers they were not only in name, but in the long accumulation of the rich heritage of English Christianity. And I like to think of them as leaders of two groups of earnest contemporaries, who in their best moments were conscious of being not contentious rivals, but complementary witnesses to the inclusive truth and full life as it is in Jesus Christ. How often must these two brothers have sat together in the quiet evening time in the unstrained intimacy of fraternal intercourse. There were broad sunlit fields beyond their theological fences, over which they could peacefully wander together. Is it not but the natural fruition of that kindred union that you and I representing our several groups should be meeting in conscious fellowship at this hour? "Behold how good and joyful a thing it is brethren to dwell together in unity." There is a charming etching by a modern artist taken from a vantage point at the northwest corner of Fourth and Arch Streets. It

shows this picturesque Meeting House and its sacred environs in the foreground; and back of it in suggestive combination rises the graceful spire of Christ Church. Designedly or not, Mr. Pennell has truly and beautifully linked these two centers of Christian aspiration and enterprise in their enduring relation; first in order of location, the Founder's followers; and then the dominating influx of the Churchmen. May I take the liberty of leaving with you a little copy of the poetic sketch, with the greetings of Christ Church Rector and congregation, as a visible symbol of our close association. "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling."

Perhaps the most vital treasure preserved by us on Second Street is a Library, the foundation of which was laid as early as 1696, by that singularly gifted man of God, Commissary Bray. The story of it has romantically enough been but recently unearthed by the discovery of his manuscripts in London. In them he tells how that he undertook his mission to strengthen religion in the colonies on the condition that he should be helped to plant libraries in five strategic centres—Annapolis, Philadelphia, Charleston, Boston and New York—with the purpose of luring University men to emigrate hither. Under his guiding genius the plan developed surprisingly. The books came over in succeeding consignments; and his ingenious arrangements for their widest possible use anticipated the best modern methods. It requires no straining of the imagination to recognize that these libraries (later enlarged by his Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge) proved effectual in bringing men of leadership here who helped to make this the chief city in the new world in colonial days. One or two of the volumes, included amongst the hundreds that came over, bear testimony to the regrettable controversies of that period. That entitled "The Snake in the Grass" is a lamentable illustration of the length to which men's blinded zeal in dialectics could go. It was an outburst of bigoted prejudice of which right minded brethren were in time heartily ashamed. The atmosphere of the age was heavy with that sort of poison. Nor are we yet wholly untainted by it in the propagation of our varying

shibboleths. But notable progress has been attained. As the eighteenth century closed, that benign shepherd of souls, William White, was at the height of his influential career in this city and country. Occupied as he was with innumerable interests he did a big fine thing in this connection which is worth recounting in this presence. Dr. Barclay's Apology was in circulation. It challenged some of White's cherished convictions. He set himself to answer it. With characteristic patience, learning and skill he wrote out in his clear neat chirography a vigorous rejoinder, a truly monumental manuscript, enough to make up into several substantial tomes. Then calmly he put those manifold pages under lock and key—to ripen—and went about amongst his fellow citizens, cultivating mutual understanding and gathering them together in various benevolences, the Bible Society, Work for the Deaf and Dumb, etc. And finally he made a brief record of his decision not to print the reply; that the controversy might die down, and peace and progress be attained through other means. That massive manuscript is still stored in our Muniment Room; and is a constant reminder of the better way with differing brethren—a forerunner of the delightful modern movement toward a Fellowship of Uncongenial Minds. Such an act of restraint of the pride of authorship, such an example of courtesy (which is consideration for the self-respect of others), such an exercise of refraining yea even from good words might well be pondered by all who would put forth hasty hands to steady the Ark of God.

Little by little we have thus been edging out into the open spaces, not of compromising the truth, nor of a toleration that is indifference, but toward an appreciation of the value of the differential, and a co-ordination of varying contributions toward the knowledge and service of our one Lord and Saviour.

It is gratifying to find a sympathetic estimate of the influence of the Society of Friends on American life in a thoughtful work recently emanating from my Alma Mater, Trinity College, Hartford. Professor Humphreys in his book entitled "Nationalism and Religion" discriminatingly traces the interaction of each of the Christian bodies on American ideals and

institutions, and pays a deserved tribute to your ofttimes heroic witness to the inner light.

He quotes approvingly from Boissot (de Warville) who in turn quotes Washington as having said that "on considering the simplicity of their manners, their fondness for economy, the excellence of their morals, and the good examples they afforded, joined to the attachment they showed for the Constitution, he regarded them as the best citizens of the new government."

And to all that is so charmingly said in the July number of an English Monthly entitled "Theology" in an article written by Violet Hodgkins about George Fox, be assured that all men of good will yield glad assent. Her implied challenge wakes a responsive echo in our breasts as she recalls—"Fox fearlessly acted out his beliefs. His master quality was his complete reliance on the truth he knew. He has enabled those who come after him and follow his methods to know truth experimentally in their measure also. His method of dealing with his mystical experiences is characteristic. He does not wrap himself up in them apart from mankind. Rather he wrings from them new power to help his fellow men." Yes; it is well to observe the anniversary of this quickened personality, and bear fitting tribute to the fruitfulness of the movement he inaugurated.

If a voice is raised within the circle alleging the failure of Quakerism, may not a neighbor venture the reminder that Christianity is primarily like leaven, which while losing itself leaveneth the whole lump? More and more are not the essentials of your vision becoming the common convictions of mankind?

But I may not indulge myself further in such reflections as we are all eager to hear the chief speaker of the evening, and I must at least advert to the subject "the immediate opportunities on our door step in Philadelphia." You and I are identified with two cherished historic establishments in the downtown district of Penn's City of Brotherly Love, a district which

calls upon us for fresh visions and readjustment of energy if the new Jerusalem is to be set up here and now.

Some of us are prone to think our duty done if and when our properties are kept in repair, solid and trim objects to be gazed at by sightseers in auto buses; and it is a distinct satisfaction to hand on to future generations these irreplaceable shrines—even to spend our hard earned coin in laying sidewalks around burial grounds for which other men should provide. Yet others of us may feel content to use our sacred buildings for the spiritual nurture of ourselves and dwindling groups of kindred souls. And there is legitimate joy and comfort in so doing. But there has been stirred up a keener consciousness of the social implications of the Gospel today; and as interpreters of Him who came to seek and to save that which was lost, we dare not betray Him by any futile attempt to live to ourselves. We have come to realize that there are four keywords for the Church which must control each and all of us. They are Appreciation, Inspiration, Application and Co-operation. Appreciation of the social content of the revelation in Jesus Christ, and of the need of our environment and time. Inspiration, that we may spiritualize society, clarifying its vision and supplying sustaining motive, together with true emphases. Application, that the Church may put her theories and followers to the test of bringing in the Kingdom of heaven; and Co-operation to the avoidance of wasteful duplication and the strengthening of adequate agencies for the supplying of every human necessity. Deliberate isolation in segregated centers or denominations is now perilously near to treason to the integral household of faith. Brethren who share such convictions will reach out to attain some sort of federated fraternity. They may begin by making a simple map of the immediate territory in which they are located, and noting thereon the various agencies, good and evil, operating about them; they may discover and indicate the number and character of the entire population in the district, the housing conditions, recreational facilities, and other provisions for health and decent living. At reasonable intervals they may make house to house

canvasses and disclose incredible actualities. They may unitedly get back of a Quaker Director of Public Safety in repressing crime and upholding Law and Order. They may even erect and equip community buildings and neighborhood houses, and make them throb with the consecrated activities of staffs of trained workers and volunteer aids. They may manifest a helpful concern for carrying on the ministries abandoned when an adjacent congregation is forced to leave the district.*

And in such co-operative endeavors with one another, they will be doubly blest.

I know well how deeply engrossed many of us are with various charities in this great city and beyond. The praise of the Society of Friends is on all lips for your world wide benevolences; and yet there is need for reminding ourselves down here in this door-step district that charity begins at home.

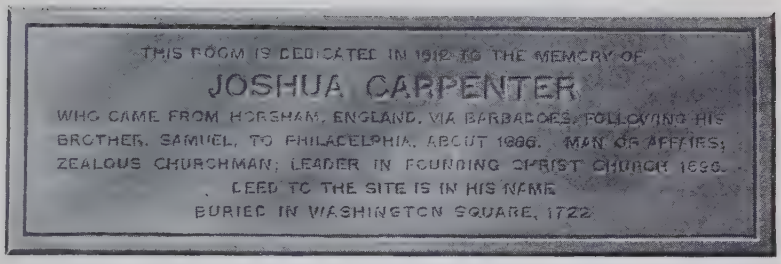
Who but we, in effective unison, can serve as spokesmen for the otherwise inarticulate need of the neglected dwellers in the courts and alleys hereabouts?

Promiseful beginnings have been made. Agreeable acquaintances have been formed.

Some preliminary conferences have been held; and the eye of faith can discern the coming of the day when you and we and the few other centres remaining on this river front will more frequently and more freely take sweet counsel together, and learn to adapt ourselves unitedly to the changing conditions about us, and exalt truth and goodness and beauty in the lives of all who await our coming.

*At this point, there was read the correspondence with the Trustees of St. John's Lutheran Church, which the new bridge was forcing from its location at Race Street above Sixth.

The Founders and Vestrymen



In Rector's Office

The Founders

Francis Jones
Saml. Peres
Darby Greene
Enoch Hubord
Thos. Walter
Thos. Curtis
Edwd. Smout
Joshua Carpenter
Wm. Dyre
Addam Birch
John Sibley
Robert Gilham
Jasper Yeates
Jarvis Bywater
Thomas Harris
George Fisher
Fardinando Dowarthy
John Willson
Robt. Quary
Sam. Holt
Edw. Bury
Thos. Stapleford
John White
John Gibbs
Willm. Grant
Thos. Briscoll
John Herris
John Harrison
Thomas Craven
Anth'y Blany
Charles Sober
Robt. Snead
Jeremiah Price
Jeremiah Hunt
Geo. Thompson
John Moore

Vestrymen
and the
Dates of Their Election

Adcock, William, 1779-1787
Allibone, William, 1779-81, 93-97
Anthony, Richard, 1711
Ash, James, 1781-82, 1789-1809
Ashburner, John, 1812-1816
Ashton, Wm. Easterly, 1901-1925, now serving
Assheton, Ralph, 1718, 1720-21, 32, 35, 1743-45
Assheton, Robert, 1717-1727
Assheton, William, 1718-1723

Bache, Richard, 1779-82
Bache, T. Hewson, 1877-90, 93, 95-1907
Bacon, Job, 1837-54
Bancker, Charles N., 1813-27
Bard, Peter, 1749-51
Bass, Robert, 1779-80
Baynton, John, 1751-60, 67-71
Baynton, Peter, 1726-30, 35-37, 42
Beck, Paul, 1811
Belfield, T. Broom, 1916-25, now serving
Bell, William, 1740,42-44
Bickham, George, 1784-1811
Biddle, James, 1772-77
Bingham, James, 1728-32, 35-37
Bingham, William, 1749-68
Bingham, William, 1791-1802
Binney, Horace, 1816-35, 37-44
Blakeston, Presly, 1779-83
Bolton, Robert, 1725-28, 31
Bond, Samuel, 1732
Bond, Thomas, 1747, 48
Booth, James C., 1847-67
Bourne, Thomas, 1728-31, 35-37, 40
Bradford, Andrew, 1726-30, 32, 35-37
Bradford, T. Hewson, 1897-1915
Bradley, Edward, 1731, 32, 35-37, 42, 43
Bringhurst, George, 1816-29
Brobson, William, 1869-80
Brown, Jonathan, 1774-78, 81, 82
Browne, Peter, 1806-10
Bulley, William, 1737, 42-44
Bullitt, John C., 1870-72
Bullock, Charles, 1857-69
Bullock, Joseph, 1784-86
Bunner, Andrew, 1779
Burk, Thomas, 1799-1820

Carpenter, J. Edward, 1871-79
Carpenter, Joshua, before 1717 and 1717-21
Carpenter, Samuel, 1718, 20, 21
Carter, Durden B., 1823-28
Casdrop, Thomas, 1783, 84
Cash, Caleb, 1718
Chaloner, John, 1779-82
Chaloner, John, Jr., 1783, 84
Chancellor, William, 1721, 25, 27-29, 32, 35-37, 42
Charlton, Thomas, 1769
Chase, Thomas, 1722-30, 32
Chew, Benjamin, 1772, 73
Child, James, 1756-63
Childs, Allen, 1905-16
Clark, Benjamin, 1824-26
Clark, Charles Davis, 1908-21
Clark, Edward L., 1853-71
Clark, Ellis, 1832-47
Clark, Ephraim, 1806-15
Clark, John, 1794
Clark, Michael F., 1859
Clarkson, Gerardus, 1775-77, 79-80
Clarkson, Matthew, 1779-84
Claypoole, Joseph, 1718-21
Claypoole, Joseph, 1783-92, 94-1805
Clymer, William, 1742-51
Coates, Edward H., 1877-1905, 1916-1919

Coates, George M., 1873-94
Coles, Edward, 1880-1906
Comegys, Cornelius, 1821, 26-28
Connolly, William, 1736
Conyngham, Redmond, 1754-66
Cooper, Collin C., 1845-63
Cooper, Joseph, 1823-29
Cooper, Thomas, 1830-31
Coxe, Tench, 1778, 85-90
Coxe, William, 1766-68
Crapp, John, before 1717
Creth, John E., 1888-1907
Creutzberg, Samuel, 1869-74
Cumpston, Thomas, 1791-1814
Cuthbert, Thomas, 1773-77, 79, 80
Cuthbert, Thomas, 1789-1813
Cuzzins, William, 1745-50

Da Costa, John C., 1875-1900, 1901-10
Da Costa, John C., 3d, 1922-25, now serving
Dale, Richard, 1813-25
Danby, John, 1732, 35-37
David, John, 1780-93
Davids, Richard W., 1920
Davis, Merick, 1722-24
Davy, Hugh, 1756-57
De Haven, Hugh, 1810-24
De Haven, Peter, 1773, 75-77, 79-1812
Dexter, Henry, 1728-32
Donnaldson, John, 1794-99
Donnaldson, Joseph, 1774, 78-96
Dowers, John, 1783
Duché, Jacob, 1745-77
Duffield, Edward, 1756-72

Elliott, William, 1882, 83
Ellis, Robert, 1719, 20, 22-27, 35
Elwes, Henry, 1749-55
Evans, Peter, 1719, 23-31, 35-37, 40, 42-44
Eyre, Emanuel, 1783

Fenton, Thomas, 1725-27
Footman, Richard, 1774, 78
Fraser, William, 1721-29
Frogg, J., 1711
Fuller, Benjamin, 1774
Fuller, William A. M., 1856-58
Furman, Moore, 1774

Gibson, John, 1767-73
Gilpin, Hood, 1884-91
Godfrey, Benjamin, 1724
Godley, Jesse, 1845, 63-67
Goodman, Walter, 1745, 46
Gookin, Charles, Lt. Gov., 1717
Gordon, Thomas, 1745-48, 63-66
Gostelowe, Jonathan, 1792-94
Graeme, Thomas, 1736
Gurney, Francis, 1783-1815

Hale, Thomas, 1812-28
Hall, David, 1751, 53
Hall, William, before 1717
Hall, William, 1784-90, 95, 97-1805
Hamm, James 1774
Hand, James C., 1849-53
Hand, Thomas C., 1839-47
Harland, John, 1810-15
Harrison, Alfred C., 1918-25, now serving
Harrison, Henry, 1750, 51, 53-65
Harrison, John, 1717, 20, 23, 24
Hasell, Samuel, 1722-28, 32, 35, 37, 42-44, 47
Hawkins, Henry, 1803-15
Hazlewood, John, 1779-83
Hellier, William, 1735-37, 45-48
Hicks, Nicholas, 1791, 92, 94
Hillegas, Michael, 1772, 73
Hobart, Robert E., 1810, 11
Hoffman, George E., 1868-80
Hoffman, John W., 1875-79
Holt, Samuel, before 1717
Holt, Samuel, 1742-44
Hopkinson, Francis, 1769-73, 88-91
Horner, Alfred, 1848-49
Hover, Joseph E., 1856-68
Howard, Thomas, 1735, 36
Hubley, Adam, 1784-87
Huddell, Joseph, 1796-1814

Huddell, Joseph, Jr., 1815-24
Humphreys, James, 1749, 50, 52-73, 75-77
Humphreys, James Y., 1832-50
Hutchins, Henry J., 1829-33
Hutchinson, Emlen, 1908-25, now serving
Hyatt, John, 1729-30-31-32-35-37-42

Ingersoll, Joseph R., 1826-31
Irvine, James, 1782

Johnson, Robert S., 1836-45
Johnston, Samuel, 1764
Jones, Edward, 1745-47
Jones, Evan, 1731

Kearsley, John, 1719-32, 35-37, 40, 42, 44, 48-71
Keith, Charles P., 1893-1925, now serving
Keith, William, Lt. Gov. 1718
Kempton, Moses, 1832-61
Kent, William C., 1847-56
Knight, Daniel, 1812-28
Kuhl, Henry, 1813-23

Laisek, John, 1725
Lawrence, Thomas, 1721-28, 35-37, 40, 43-53
Lawrence, Thomas, Jr., 1748-55
Laycock, John, 1719
Leech, Thomas, 1724-32, 35-37, 40, 42-60
Levis, Joseph C., 1859-71
Lewis, Lawrence, 1828-31
Litch, Wilbur F., 1888-90
Lowber, John C., 1825-28

McCall, Archibald, 1766, 67
McCall, George, 1721, 24
McCall, Peter, 1854-62
McCauley, Richard, 1872-76
McEuen, Thomas, 1810-22
McKenzie, William, 1795

Maddox, Joshua, 1728-32, 35-37, 40, 42, 44-46
Markland, John, 1811-28
Maugridge, William, 1742, 44
Meredith, Charles, 1768-72
Meredith, William, 1816-31
Meredith, Wiliam M., 1845-48, 51-57
Miller, John, 1795
Miller, John, Jr., 1820-31
Milnor, James, 1810-12
Monckton, Samuel, 1719, 20
Montgomery, Richard R., 1848, 49
Montgomery, Thomas H., 1879-1901
Moore, John, before 1717 and 1719, 20, 24, 29, 31
Morgan, Benjamin, 1717-32, 35-37, 40, 42-44, 47, 48
Morgan, Evan, 1747-62
Morgan, John, 1769-73, 75
Morrell, John, 1797-1812
Morrell, William, 1778
Morris, John, 1777-88
Mundell, John, 1872-83
Murdock, William, 1810, 13-23

Neill, Lewis, 1813-20
Newbold, Clement B., 1891-1907
Newbold, John Sargent, 1921-25, now serving
Newbold, John S., 1884-87
Newbold, William H., 1850-55
Nicklin, Philip H., 1827-41
Nixon, Richard, 1845-47

Oakeley, George, 1793, 94, 96-1819
Ogden, Joseph, 1907-18
Okill, George, 1747, 48, 53-56
Ord, George, 1781

Palmer, Anthony, 1712, 18-21, 23, 25, 26, 30, 31
Parker, Richard, 1740, 1742-44
Paschall, William, 1725, 45, 46
Patterson, Jonathan, 1842-44
Paul, William W., 1858

Percival, Joshua, 1822-31
Perot, John, 1792, 95
Perry, Charles, 1821, 22
Peters, Richard, Rev. 1740, 45-52
Peters, Richard, 1907-21
Phile, Frederick, 1783
Phillips, John, 1745, 74
Phillips, William, 1820-31
Physick, Edmund, 1775-77
Plumley, George, 1718-20, 22-28, 31, 35-37, 40, 42-45
Plumsted, William, 1755, 58-65
Polegreen, Thomas, 1722-29
Pollard, William, 1774, 79-88
Powel, Samuel, 1773, 75-82, 85-93
Poyntell, William, 1811
Pratt, Henry, 1815-35
Price, Benjamin, 1748
Price, William, 1782-85
Pyewell, William, 1731, 32, 35-37, 40, 42-44, 49-68

Quary, Robert, before 1717

Rawle, William, Jr., 1828
Read, Charles, 1717-21, 23-28, 31, 32, 35, 36
Read, John, 1717, 19-23
Read, John, Jr., 1816-28
Read, Samuel, 1779, 80
Redman, Joseph, 1747-71, 73-78
Reynolds, James, 1774-78, 80
Ritter, Jacob B., 1862, 63
Roach, Isaac, 1779-80
Roach, Isaac, 1829-31
Roberdeau, Daniel, 1756, 57
Robinson, John, 1735-37
Robinson, William, 1717
Rolfe, Josiah, 1717, 18, 24
Ross, John, 1742-48, 51-65, 67, 68
Rundle, Richard, 1778

Sawer, James, 1791-96, 1800-02
Sayre, John, 1754-61
Scovell, Richard, 1748
Scull, Gideon, 1846-48
Searle, John, 1744
Seeds, Thomas M., 1880-96
Seeds, Thomas M., Jr., 1911-15
Sewell, Richard, 1746, 47, 49-52, 79
Sheppard, Joseph R., 1921-25, now serving
Shippen, Edward, 1772, 73, 75-78
Shippen, Joseph, 1737
Simmons, Leeson, 1781, 82, 87-90, 95-1812
Sims, Joseph, 1745-47, 61-73, 77
Sims, Joseph, 1794-1812, 14-31
Sims, Wooddrop, 1781, 82, 84-93
Smith, Daniel, 1798-1831
Smith, George Washington, 1864-76
Smith, James S., 1829-31
Smith, John, 1776
Smith, Thomas D., 1922-25, now serving
Smith, Wade T., 1837-45
Smith, William, 1836-41
Smith, William Rudolph, 1916-1922
Smout, Edward, before 1717
Snowden, Joseph, 1803-09
Sober, Charles, before 1717 and 1717
Sonmans, Peter, 1761-63, 65-67
Souder, Edmund A., 1850-68
Sparks, James, 1774, 78
Stamper, Joseph, 1764-73, 77, 78
Stedman, Alexander, 1758-66
Stedman, Charles, 1752-74, 76-78
Stocker, John Clement, 1795-1813
Stokes, Edward Lowber, 1912-25, now serving
Stride, Joseph, 1796-98
Swanwick, John, 1786-89, 91
Swift, George, 1792-93
Swift, Joseph, 1764-73, 75-78, 83, 85-1803
Syng, Philip, 1745-49

Taylor, Abram, 1749, 50, 52-54
Taylor, Bankson, 1835, 36
Taylor, Samuel, 1779, 80
Tench, Thomas, before 1717

Thayer, M. Russell, 1881-1906
Thomas, William, 1790
Tilghman, William, 1804-27
Till, William, 1736-37
Tod, Alexander, 1778
Towers, Robert, 1784-91
Trent, William, 1717-20
Tresse, Hugh, 1718
Tresse, Thomas, 1717-19, 21-24, 25-28, 30, 31, 36, 37
Tryon, George, 1824-40
Turner, Peter, 1745, 51-55, 57-64
Turner, Peter, Jr., 1765-71
Tuthill, James, 1717-21, 23-27

Usher, Abraham, 1774-75

Venable, Thomas, 1743
Vining, Benjamin, 1717-21

Wagner, Samuel, 1749-78
Wainwright, Clement R., 1917-25, now serving
Wallace, John B., 1814-19
Watts, Henry M., 1848-55
Wayne, Caleb P., 1813-37
Wayne, William H., 1838
Welsh, Isaac, 1860-87
West, Francis, 1841-52
Wetherill, Samuel, 1857-69
Wheeler, Charles, 1830-36
Wheeler, Joseph K., 1864-74
Wheeler, Samuel, 1796-1812
White, John, 1829-47
White, J. Brinton, 1907-1915
White, Thomas H., 1817-36
White, Townsend, 1848-72, 74, 78-87
White, William, Jr., 1894-1925, now serving
White, Robert, 1774-78
Wilcocks, Alexander, 1775-78
Wilcocks, John, 1746
Wilcocks, John, 1767-74, 88-94
Willday, John, 1770, 71
Williamson, Joseph, 1777, 78
Willing, Charles, 1735-37, 44, 49, 50
Willing, Richard, 1775, 76
Willing, Thomas, 1762, 63, 66-72
Wiltbank, William White, 1868-92
Wood, R. Francis, 1891-95
Wooddrop, Alexander 1726-28, 32, 35-37, 40, 42
Woods, John, 1781, 82, 91-94
Worrell, James, 1774
Wynkoop, Benjamin, 1769-73, 75, 76, 84-90

Monuments
and
Tombstones

Monuments

In the interior of the church, upon the wall, are the following tablets. The inscription on the first named is almost illegible.

I.

This Monument was erected by
William Cox, a member of this congregation,
In memory of his much lamented brother,
JOHN COX, late of Cheltenham,
In the county of Gloucester, in Great Britain;
Unfortunately drowned in the river Delaware,
February 20, Anno Christi 1713.
Ætatis Suæ 22.

II.

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
ROBERT MEADE.
He died the 3d May, 1796, in the 21st year of his age.
Just, Generous and Humane,
He knew but vice the better to avoid her,
While every virtue
Claim'd alliance to him.

Now well earn'd peace is his, and bliss sincere,
Ours be the lenient, not unpleasing tear.
'Tis the great birthright of mankind to die,
Life is the bud of being, the dim dawn,
The twilight of our day, the vestibule;
Life's theatre as yet is shut, and death,
Strong death, alone can heave the massy bar,
This gross impediment of clay remove,
And make us embryos of existence free.

III.

IN MEMORY OF
THE REVEREND
JOHN WALLER JAMES,
RECTOR OF THIS CHURCH,
WHO DIED AUGUST 14, 1836.
Aged 31 years.

"I wish to say to the dear people of my charge—Remember the words I spake unto you while I was yet alive. The same truths make me happy in the prospect of death and heaven."

IV.

TO THE MEMORY OF
MRS. MARY ANDREWS, late of this city,
Who died March 29, 1761, Aged 78.
And was a considerable benefactress to this
CHURCH.
Erected by her executors, William Peters and
Benjamin Pearce, Esqrs. in pursuance of her will.

V.

COLONEL SAMUEL JOHN ATLEE
died 1786 aged 48.
who served his country well in the
trying times of the Revolution, both as
a soldier and in her councils.

VI.

RICHARD WELTON
(see illustration)

VII.

The body of
BISHOP WHITE
was exhumed in 1870, and reinterred
at the center
of the Chancel floor
The brass on the stone slab
bears this inscription

William White
Nat. 4th April 1748 Ob. 17th July 1836.

VIII.

BENJAMIN DORR
1796-1869
For 32 years Rector of this Church
A faithful pastor
A liberal benefactor
An exemplary Christian.

IX.

ESTHER K. DORR
1806-1857

X.

CAPTAIN
WILLIAM WHITE DORR
1837-1864
Killed in action
Spottsylvania, Va.

XI.

EDWARD LYON CLARK
1823-1871
He lived in the Service and
died in the faith of his Redeemer.

XII.

ANN TALLMAN D'A COSTA
Died 1866 aged 70
Her life was devoted to the
cause of Christ and His Church.

XIII.

EDWARD A. FOGGO
1834-1898
Assistant Minister, Rector and Rector Emeritus
1861-1891.

XIV.

ANNE HOPKINSON FOGGO
1836-1886.

XV.

ISAAC WELSH
1814-1887
A Christian patriot and
devoted Churchman.

XVI.

IN MEMORY
of
EDWARD COLES
For twenty-six years
a faithful Vestryman
of this church
1837-1906
The power of a blameless life.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE GRAVE STONES IN THE AISLES OF THE CHURCH

CENTRE AISLE.

I.

IN MEMORY OF
THE REVEREND RICHARD PETERS, D.D.,
RECTOR OF CHRIST CHURCH AND ST. PETER'S,
Who departed this Life
July 10th, 1776, aged 72 years.

II.

IN MEMORY OF
THOMAS VENABLE, ESQ.
Who departed this life, January 26th, 1731.
AND OF
REBECCA, his Wife
Who departed this life, February 10th, 1784. Aged 78 years.

III.

Under this stone lies ANN HOCKLEY, who will ever be remembered with true esteem by all who knew her, for good sense, sprightly conversation, strict virtue, sincere friendship, and unaffected piety. Her sickness was one continued exercise of devotion, being a painful consumptive disorder, which removed her from hence y_e 28th day of June, 1745, at the age of 24 years, singing in most devout strains, and making melody unto the Lord in her very last moments.

IV.

Under this stone lies interred the body of JOHN KNIGHT, Esq., of the Island of Jamaica, who died in this city, 23 July, 1733, in the 36th year of his age. He was the only living son of James Knight, Esq., and grand-son of Dr. Knight, both of said Island.

V.

SACRED

TO THE MEMORY OF

THE HONORABLE RICHARD WARSOM, ESQ.,

One of his majesty's council of the Island of Barbadoes. Nature had been bountiful to him; his education was liberal, his principles, in regard to church and state, orthodox and constitutional; in the relations of husband and father, he was kind, tender and truly affectionate. His mournful widow, in respectful testimony of his conjugal, paternal, and other excellencies, dedicated this stone.

Born in Barbadoes, A. D. 1701. Died in Philadelphia, A. D. 1766, aged 65.

Also the remains of MRS. MARY WEEKS, eldest daughter of the aforesaid Richard Warsom, Esq. of Barbadoes, who died January 21st, 1772. Aged 31 years.

ROBERT MEADE,* son of George and Henrietta Constantia Meade, and grand-son of Richard Warsom, was also interred here on the 5th May, 1796.

VI.

Here lieth the body of MRS. MARY ANDREWS,† who departed this life March 29th, 1761, Anno Ætat. 78.

VII.

Here lieth the body of JOHN ROBERTS, merchant in Philadelphia, who departed this life, January 13th, 1730.
Aged 44 years.

NORTH AISLE.

VIII.

Here lies the body of SAMUEL WELSH, Aged 70.

IX.

——— PEARSE, 1700.
also ——— PEARSE, 1713.
also ——— PEARSE, 1714.

*A mural monument to his memory is on the north wall of the Church.
†There is a mural tablet to her memory on the south wall.

SOUTH AISLE.

X.

Here lies the body of ROBERT LORÆY, who departed this life November 27th, Anno Domini, 1734, Aged 42 years.

AISLE IN FRONT OF THE CHANCEL.

XI.

M. S. Famæ
ASSHETON * * * * iensis
de Salford juxta Manchester
* * * * Lancastriensis
Stephanus Watts Francisca
Rudolphi Susanna Assheton
Anno Salutis, 1768.

XII.

HERE LIETH THE BODY OF
THE HONORABLE JOHN PENN, ESQ.,
One of the late Proprietaries of Pennsylvania,
Who died, February 9th, A. D. 1795, aged 67 years.

In this aisle immediately in front of the chancel are three stones; the north and south ones are without any names or even letters on them. On the centre stone is the following, as near as can be made out.

XIII.

* * * Col. S. S. Trinitat. Dublin Studuit Alumnus
Obiit die V. Mensis Januar. Anno Salut. MDCCLXII.
AET. LXXV.
Age Lector,
Puræ Religionis, honestæ veritatis, benevolentissime,
Exemplum velis,
Hunc Christianae Fidei vindicem, Probitatis Cultorem,
Benevolentia studia,
Respice, sequere, imitare.
Juxta Hoc etiam, marmor, sepulta jacet
JOANNA ELIZABETHA prædicti ROBERTI
JENNEY, conjux,
Quae sex tantummodo dies post mariti sepulturam,
Obiit, anno aetatis suae LXIV.

IN THE CHURCH YARD

I.

The Family vault
of
WM. WHITE AND ROBERT MORRIS,

The latter who was Financier
of the United States
during the Revolution,
died the 8th May, 1806,
aged 73 years.

The former, Rector of this Church
and Bishop of the Diocese,
died the 17th July, 1836,
aged 88 years, 3 months,
and 13 days.

The first interment in this vault,
was ESTHER WHITE, Relict of
Colonel *Thomas White,*
and mother of *Bishop White;*
she died the 21st December, 1790.
Aged 71 years.

JAMES WILSON
a Signer
of
The Declaration of Independence

a Maker
of
The Constitution of the United States

a Justice
of
The United States Supreme Court
at its creation

Born September 14, 1742
Died August 28, 1798
at
Edenton, N. C.
on
November 22, 1906
The Governor and people of Pennsylvania
removed his remains
to
Christ Church, Philadelphia
and
dedicated this tablet
to
his memory.

"That the Supreme Power, therefore,
should be vested in the people, is in
my judgment, the great panacea of human politics."
WILSON.

There is also an extensive burial ground on the south-east corner of Arch and Fifth streets, which was purchased by the vestry of Christ Church, in August 1719, and has ever since been used as a place of interment. Among the inscriptions upon the tombstones are some of as early a date as 1720. Many persons of distinction have been buried here. In the north-west corner of the yard is a plain marble slab, with this simple inscription:

BENJAMIN and DEBORAH } FRANKLIN, 1790.

By their side repose the ashes of their daughter and son-in-law, with the like brief record upon their tomb.

OTHER SIGNERS

IN MEMORY OF

BENJAMIN RUSH, M.D.

Who died on the 19th of April
in the year of our Lord 1813
Aged 68 years.

Well done good and faithful servant.
Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.

IN UNMARKED GRAVES

FRANCIS HOPKINSON

The poet of the popular cause
Born 1737
Died 1791
For years a communicant at this altar.

GEORGE ROSS

1730-1799
Son of our New Castle Clergyman
and brother-in-law of Caeser Rodney.

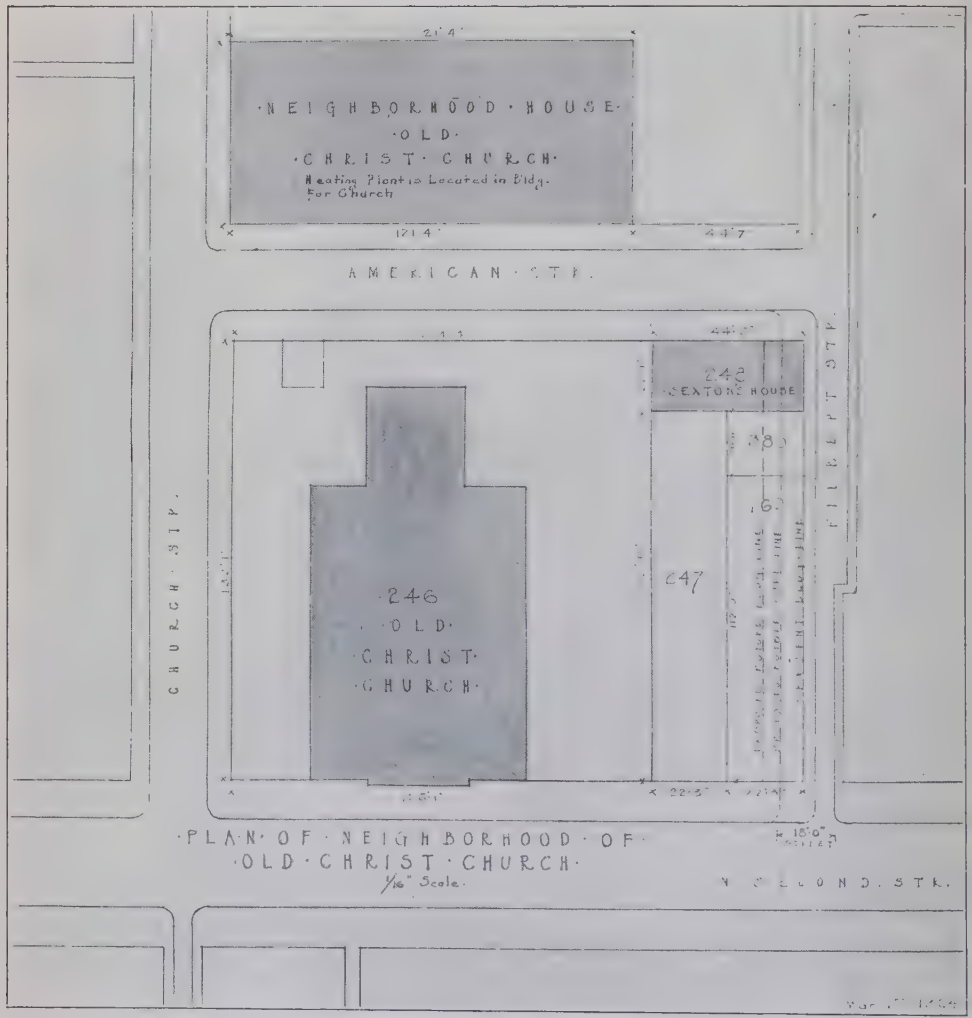
JOSEPH HEWES
of North Carolina
a convert from Quakerism
Born 1730
Died 1779

PEYTON RANDOLPH
1721-1775
President of the Continental Congress
was also buried here
his body was later removed to
William and Mary College
Va.

He who walks among the graves of the thousands who are sleeping here, may realize the truth of the poet's description:

"From stone to stone my eyes successive roam,
And note what tenants underneath them lie.
Each sex is here; all ages, infancy
To second childhood: some the stately tomb,
Some hold the osier'd earth's contracted room,
Signs of their former fortunes: low and high,
All ranks and states of earth's society,
All earthly kindreds find a common home.
Hark, from the grave with still small voice they call,
And thus the moral of their stories preach;
'We all were born, we lived, we died, and all
Shall rise to judgment. How on earth by each
His task was done, and what shall each befall,
Inquire not now; that day alone can teach!' "

Conclusion


NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE
OLD
CHRIST CHURCH
Heating Plant is Located in Bldg. For Church
121.4'
44.7'
AMERICAN STR.
242
SEATURE HOUSE
246
OLD
CHRIST
CHURCH
247
CHURCH ST.
FILBERT STR.
PLAN OF NEIGHBORHOOD OF
OLD CHRIST CHURCH
1/16" Scale.
SECOND. STR.

GROUND PLAN

Conclusion

THE gentle reader who has trudged thus far will doubtless agree with ex-provost Stillé when he affirms that "With such a history and with such personages serving as illustrations of it, Christ Church is not merely a temple where men have met the last two hundred years and more to worship God after the manner of their fathers, but it is also one of the brightest jewels in the mural crown of this goodly city."

Some may want to turn their emotion into practical helpfulness. With such the question will arise—Who cares for Christ Church? What would it signify if it burned down or crumbled away? The civilized world was horrified at the destruction of Rheims Cathedral and is keen for its reconstruction. English-speaking Christians everywhere contribute readily to the restoration of a Westminster Abbey or any cathedral of the Motherland. The measure of comprehending sentiment over and substantial response to such inherited liabilities is a clear index of the character of a generation.

Locally we are at a period of ambitious building projects; a colossal bridge, towering business blocks, a costly museum, a noble library and many other schemes great and small are under way. Does not a true sense of values bespeak attention as well to a priceless historic fabric?

Some day soon, the city may be moved to make the street improvement indicated on the accompanying ground plan.

With a due realization of the competing demands upon our resources is there not all the more reason for directing thought to the safeguarding of an irreplaceable monument, particularly when a modest expenditure at the moment will prevent a yet greater demand later?

It is the oldest edifice remaining in the city which Penn planned; and Philadelphia is justly proud to think of it as being so hallowed with national associations as to be second to none in the regard of intelligent Americans everywhere.

The public quite justly expects at intervals a report of conditions from the immediate guardians of such a foremost

civic asset. It is a magnetic center drawing all sorts and conditions from near and far, proving increasingly a vital source of inspiration. It is administered for the free and open use of all without discrimination or fee of any sort.

Liberal appropriations are made from the municipal treasury for the upkeep of the Independence Hall group; but no such source of supply is available for the preservation of this more venerable edifice.

In spite of obvious difficulties such as the crowding in of factories and the removal of helpful residents, the congregation which continues to have the honor of using this national shrine as its place of worship, recognizes that the chief stewardship for its protection and repair is theirs. There is much that is gratifying in their recent record with this responsibility.

It will be recalled that in order to minimize the fire risk from within, the old furnaces have been taken out and the adjacent parish building torn down, leaving the church quite detached. On the west side of North American Street a modern Neighborhood House has been erected, providing a vantage point from which to fight fires; the heating plant has been placed here in a fireproof basement and the steam pipes run to the church.

Portions of the exposed wood work that had been dry rotted have been replaced with copper. A competent caretaker is kept in residence on the spot. The latest precaution taken has been the installation of an external fire sprinkling system. It has been necessary also to replaster the entire interior; and it has been artistically painted in buff and white and blue. The cornices about the eaves (which had been renewed one hundred years ago) were again affected by dry rot, and have been rebuilt. All the exterior wood work except the steeple has been repainted. The Tower Room has been refitted with convenient book cases and redecorated in memory of Mrs. Bessie Campbell Coles. The brick wall and iron fence on the south side have been reconstructed. The yard has been repaved and shrubs and vines planted in memory of Mrs. Betty Mason Campbell.

Of all the betterments recently made perhaps the renovation of the organ with the new approach through it to the North Gallery gives the greatest satisfaction. Entering from the south yard, through doors that swing out, one mounts from the Tower Room by a graceful staircase to a gallery from which entrance to the organ loft is made by a doorway cut through the massive wall, or, turning south, access is had by winding steps to the choir room and bell ringers loft, and so on up the Tower. In renovating the organ itself care was taken to preserve all that had value in the old instrument. The dignified case and many of the pipes with their mellow quality have been retained both for sentimental and artistic reasons. Additional stops have been provided giving admirable contrast of tone color, and a new electrical console has been attached. One can imagine Ludovic Sprogell, from whom the primitive organ was purchased in 1728, or Francis Hopkinson who rendered his own compositions here in the revolutionary days, returning in spirit and taking delight in their instrument—identical yet enriched.

The congregation then is quietly striving to live up to its privilege of continuing to do what it can to preserve a valued public building from the ravages of time, and reverently to ensure its unimpaired beauty, the while they maintain their aggressive parochial activities and provide accumulating Endowments for future requirements. They will, of course, welcome any assistance, particularly in the improvement and upkeep of the ancient Burial Ground at Fifth and Arch Street.

Amongst those who are ever to be held in grateful remembrance here are the provident friends who from time to time have made bequests to the parish. For the most part these gifts have been in amounts which today might be accounted small, and the aggregate of the Endowment Fund is still quite inadequate for even the minimum current expenses.

Indeed if it was sufficient, and was so treated as to excuse succeeding generations from the duty or deprive us and them of the privilege of self-sacrifice and thanksgiving in our religious enterprise it would be destructive of its primary purpose, the

quickening of our spiritual life. Endowments are desirable and necessary for the downtown church, but chiefly as they stimulate and make effective the self-denials of those who come after.

For such measure of aid and encouragement grateful remembrance is kept of one and all,

From Edward Jauncey in 1722
To Mary Hirst and Jane Hirst in 1918
And Henry Elder in 1925

The Roll of Honor includes

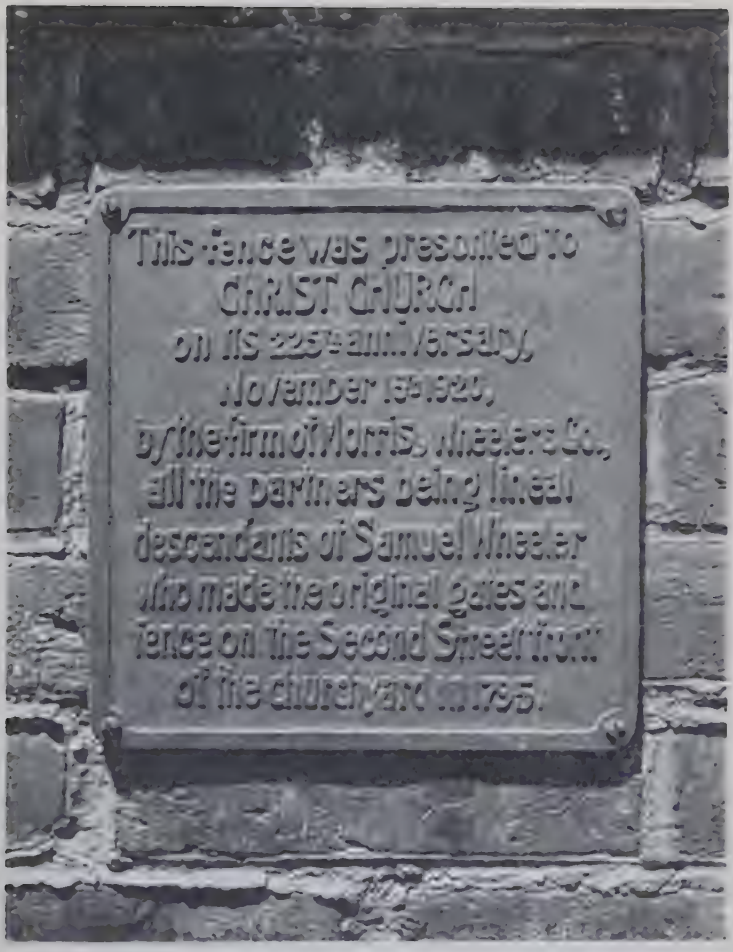
Anna Maria Clifton	Isaac Welch
Henry Rigby	Rachael Ritter
Benjamin Dorr	Eliza J. Weeks
William Clymer	Anne Flower Paul
Mary Andrews	Selden Twitchell
Mary Calhoun	Mrs. J. C. Lewis
Jane Calhoun	Elsie Wetherill
Jane Madison	Margaret Bache

together with those who have created the Memorial Fund associated with the King-Wainwright, Newbold, Mifflin, Elkins, Creth and Belfield Windows.

Under present conditions it seems a far cry to the day when the authorities contemplated the necessity of transferring the responsibility for the historic monument to the city or the state or some national organization. It was only two and twenty years back that the then Bishop formulated such a suggestion; and another on somewhat different lines emanated from our public spirited citizen Dr. Mitchell.

The process of recovery has followed the certified highway of disinterested service. The people had a mind to work; and dared to put the call of world evangelization in its legitimate perspective—first things first. Naturally recruits volunteered under such a standard.

This is not the place in which to print the long list of present officers and members; but it will point the moral and adorn the tale if we indicate the groupings of the working force.



On Southwest Post

The Clergy and the Staff find council and co-operation from the Vestry of twelve representative Philadelphians who so ably administer the temporalities.

The Parish Council serves as a clearing house for the various organizations, and exercises an oversight of the busy work shop, making it a veritable Neighborhood House.

The Church School with its two hundred and thirty-eight teachers and pupils is devoted to the cause of religious education.

The Service League gathers the youth for work during the week.

The Home Department associates the Shut-In with the Cause; and the Little Helpers, with forty-five on its roll prepares them for later identification with the activities.

The pioneer Missionary Society keeps in touch with the undertakings of the Diocese and of the General Church.

The Girls' Friendly Society, with a membership of eighty-six young women, aims to promote better standards of womanhood and mutual helpfulness.

There are some sixty of the older women identified with the Mothers' Meeting, dispensing mutual sympathy and cheer.

The Dorcas Society is continuing a long established custom of distributing winter garments to needy children. Its timely benevolence is discreetly extended to fifty or more each year.

The Church Periodical Club distributes systematically to missionaries and local institutions five hundred periodicals and two hundred and fifty bound books each year donated by such as will.

One other feminine group constitutes the Altar Guild; reverently caring for the Altar and its furnishings.

The Choir, including twenty-one boys and twelve adults, renders faithful service.

The Washington Club with fifty-four men members keeps open house in its quarters in the Neighborhood House, and lends virile aid to various undertakings.

The Brotherhood of St. Andrew with sixteen members are pledged to daily prayer for the extension of the Kingdom and to an earnest effort to lead others to Christ.

The Boys' Club with a membership of twenty or more has its headquarters in the Neighborhood House.

And the Bell Ringers' Guild consists of eight men trained to continue the traditional art of ringing the changes on the historic bells.

It is the consecration of personal lives along these and other lines that adds vital significance to the old church today.

Philadelphia has an unequalled number of historic buildings; Independence Hall, Carpenters' Hall, the Betsy Ross House, Penn's House and others are monuments of personalities and events of the past. Christ Church has, as we have seen, not only its surpassing associations with the heroes and epochs forever memorable; but it is as well an enduring center of uplifting power. Its appeal reaches far beyond its immediate clientele.

Each Lent thousands in shops and offices hereabout respond to personal reminders that "a man owes something to the neighborhood where he lives; and also to that where he makes his living. Is your home or business place in the district lying between Seventh Street and the Delaware and between Walnut and Green Streets? Then you have a personal relation to this, the Patriots' Sanctuary, and it extends a special welcome to you. Make the brief Noon Day Service part of your daily program; and do your share toward the higher life in the old town."

Each year a fresh brief call is circulated; and the invitation to stop, look and listen, and reconsider the objective and technique of religion, and to realize more clearly the essential function of the Christian Church carries added emphasis as it issues from this cherished shrine. One of the latest of these periodical calls runs thus: "Our life today is characterized by strikingly sharp contrasts between good and evil. Lawlessness, demoralization and godlessness are more glaring; at the same time that there is an ampler measure of loyalty to truth and beauty and holiness. As ever the conflict rises in the individual, where Jekyl and Hyde are at grips to control us. At such a time the summons rings out with an arresting note. Thoughtful men everywhere declare with President Coolidge, that 'The strength of our country is the strength of its religious convic-

tions.' One and all we need to experience the expulsive force of a new affection. The Christian faith must be so interpreted as to win not only intellectual assent, but as well to grip our hearts with its mighty dynamic for the realization of the Kingdom of God. Young and old want to hear less of men's doubts and negations, and far more of sure beliefs and beckoning affirmations. Shall we not concentrate on the adventure to live out such truths as we hold; and co-operate in making personal religion and public righteousness contagious?"

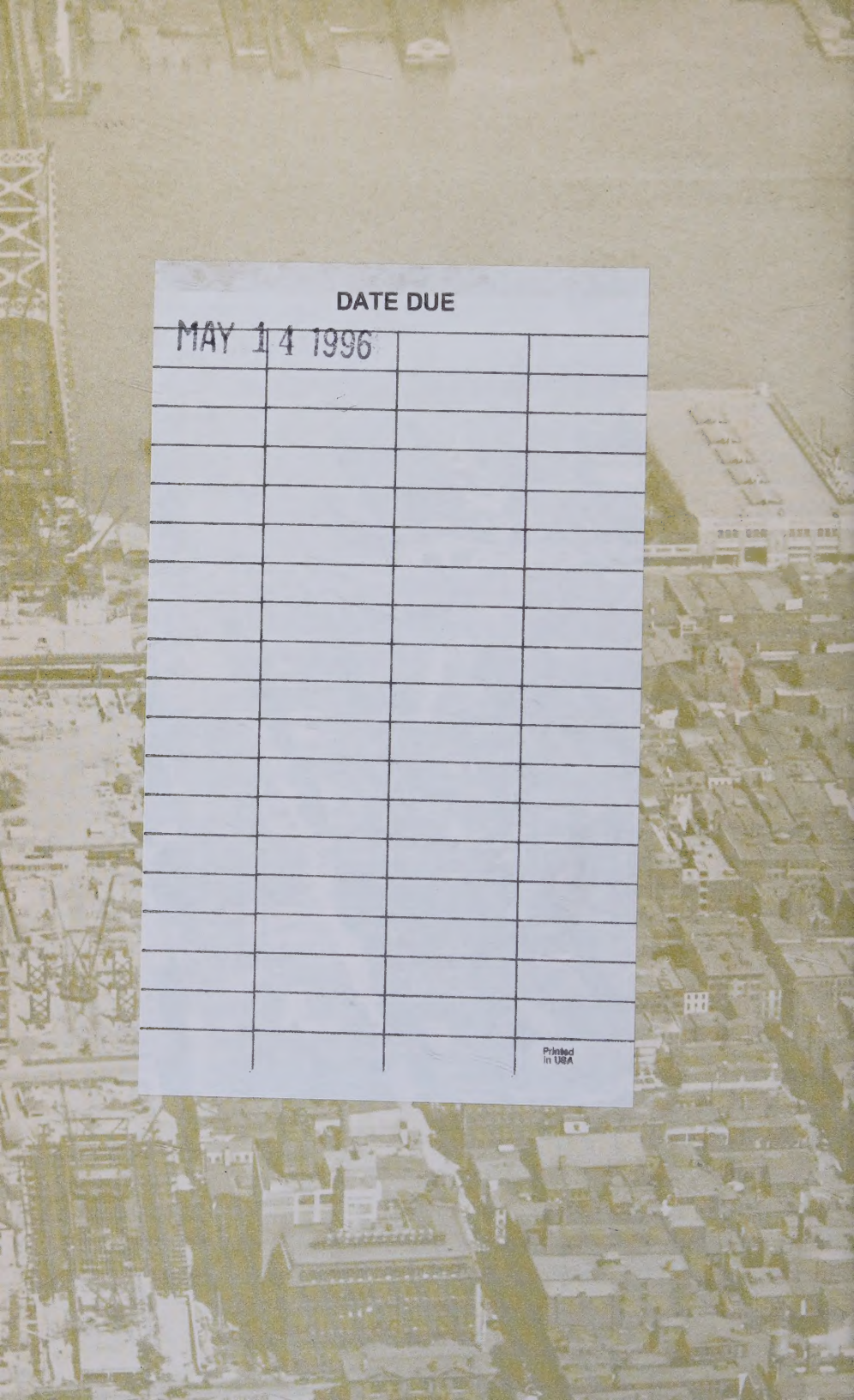
The sum of it all emerges. Christ Church is a Colonial monument of dignity and beauty; worthy of reverent care. In one and another critical moment it has been a rendezvous for those who did great things in their several generations. But it is far more than a material structure or a museum for the curious. It is a symbol; and an implement of invisible quickening forces.

Centuries ago an incomparable spiritual genius caught the Master's meaning when he asked: "Is not the life more than meat and the body than raiment?" And his declaration: "The things that are unseen are eternal," has become an implicit part of our Christian thinking. It is with this interpretation that we have quoted Mr. Kipling's verses

> "The things that truly last
> When men and times have passed
> They are all in Pennsylvania
> this morning."

And this conception is the golden thread that unites all that is contained in the foregoing pages; giving to the symposium a unity of thought and purpose that makes of it a book. The several writers (to whom we again express profound thanks) have presented something more than a mere chronology or a recital of bare facts.

The air-plane picture on the jacket commended at the outset the view from above; and the discerning reader will have found fascination in the suggestive visions of a living past, and will have caught the challenge to recognize here an indestructible Altar of God from which generations yet unborn are to be kindled with the undying fire of sacrificial service.



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